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TRAVELLER,
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MILLAR.





W. J. Gage & Co's. English School Classics.

GOLDSMITH'S TRAVELLER,

GRAY'S ELEGY,

AND

Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France.

WITH INTRODUCTION, LIVES OF AUTHORS, CHARACTER
OF THEIR WORKS, ETC. ;

AND COPIOUS EXPLANATORY NOTES, GRAMMATICAL, HIS-
TORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, ETC.

BY

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PREFACE.

"No one," remarks Professor Hudson, the eminent Shakespearean scholar, "can make up or prescribe, in detail, a method of teaching for another; in many points every teacher must strike out his or her own method; for a method that works well in one person's hands may nevertheless fail entirely in another's." This is doubtless true, but a method of teaching will be shaped and suited to the particular purpose which the teacher has in view. Under our present system, an important aim of teachers in our Collegiate Institutes and High Schools has been to prepare students for examinations. The intermediate, University, and other examinations have determined, in a marked degree, the character of the intellectual training given in these institutions. There are, however, higher objects to be sought after than success in passing examinations. The department of English literature is, perhaps, unsurpassed in the facilities which it gives the judicious teacher for dealing with these higher aims. To create a love for sound literature, to lead the students to appreciate the beauties and impulses of the author, and to show how the highest poetry tends to make wisdom and virtue pleasant, and the "true and good" a delight and joy, make demands which no text-book can adequately supply. Such requirements can be met only by the inspiring influence of the teacher in presence of his class. To accomplish these he must have a certain measure of freedom. His time during the lesson must not be occupied too much in imparting information of

mere secondary importance. Grammatical, historical, and rhetorical questions and explanations cannot be ignored, if superficialness is to be guarded against. They should be taken up, however, rather as a means to an end. Besides—and this will have weight with teacher and student—examiners have been accustomed, for many years, to give questions which call for a judicious use of grammar, dictionary, and encyclopædia. With a text-book which contains much information of this nature the students can, under the teacher's direction, "get up" a great deal themselves while the time of the recitation may, to a greater extent, be devoted to the primary objects in view.

Of the many excellent annotated editions of English classics prepared by English or American authors, few, if any of them, fully answer our purposes. In the present work, my desire has been to provide a book which might possess the valuable features of many others. Anyone who has edited such standard works as those included in this volume, will readily acknowledge how impossible it is to give much that is really necessary and yet original. Our best editions of Shakespeare's plays are largely compilations. It is difficult to say much which is valuable for school use, regarding the works of Gray, Goldsmith, and Burke that has not been said already many times over, and also well said.

Thanking my fellow-teachers for the very flattering reception accorded to my previous books, this one is submitted with the hope that it may meet with similar favor.

J. M.

COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE,
June, 1899.





INTRODUCTION.

I. LITERATURE AND ITS DEPARTMENTS.

1. Literature in its widest sense embraces all kinds of literary productions which have been preserved in writing ; but is generally restricted to those works that come within the sphere of the literary art or rules of rhetoric.

2. Classification. -- Literature, in regard to its *form*, is divided into (1) Prose and (2) Poetry. In regard to *matter*, it has three divisions : (1,) Composition, designed to inform the understanding by *description, narration, or exposition* ; (2) Oratory ; (3) Poetry.

3. Description, or descriptive composition, is of two kinds : (1) Objective, where the observer pictures what he describes as it is perceived by his senses or realized by his fancy ; (2) Subjective, where the observer, referring to the feelings or thoughts of his own mind, gives his impressions as they have been excited by the outward scene. Scott is a good example of an *objective*, and Byron of a *subjective* writer.

4. Narration is that kind of composition which gives an account of the incidents of a series of transactions or events. It may also be subjective or objective.

5. **Exposition** includes those literary productions where facts or principles are discussed and conclusions reached by a process of reasoning. It embraces various treatises, from the brief editorial, or essay, to the full discussion in extensive works. To this class belongs the philosophic poem.

6. **Oratory** is that kind of composition in which arguments or reasons are offered to influence the mind. It admits of the following divisions : (1) Judicial, (2) Political, (3) Religious, and (4) Moral suasion.

7. **Prose compositions** are those in which the thoughts are arranged in non-metrical sentences, or in the natural order in common and ordinary language. The principal kinds of prose composition are narrative, letters, memoirs, history, biography, essays, philosophy, sermons, novels, speeches, &c.

8. **Sentences** are divided grammatically into *simple*, *complex*, *compound*, and also into *declarative*, *interrogative*, *imperative*, and *exclamative*. Rhetorically, they are divided into *loose sentences* and *periods*.

9. A **loose sentence** consists of parts which may be separated without destroying the sense. It is generally adopted by Addison.

10. A **period** is a sentence in which the complete sense is suspended until the close. The first sentence of *Paradise Lost*, and also the first sentence of the *Task*, *Book III*, furnish examples.

11. **Poetry** is that species of composition in which the words are metrically arranged. It also differs from prose in (1) having a greater number of *figures of speech*, (2) employing numerous *archaic*, or *non-colloquial* terms, (3) preferring epithets to extended expressions, (4) using short and euphonious words instead of what are long or harsh, and (5) permitting deviations from the rules of grammar.

12. **Metre** is defined as "the recurrence within certain intervals of syllables similarly affected." This may arise from (1) alliteration, (2) quantity, (3) rhyme, (4) accent, or (5) the number of syllables.

13. **Alliteration**, which was the characteristic of Old English poetry, consisted in the repetition of the same letters.

14. **Quantity** has reference to the length of vowels or syllables. In the classical languages, quantity was measured by the length of syllables; in English, by the length of the vowels.

15. **Rhyme** is a similarity of sound at the end of words; its essentials being (1) vowels alike in sound, (2) consonants before the vowels unlike, and (3) consonants after the vowels alike in sound. Poetry without rhyme is termed *blank verse*. Blank verse usually consists of five, or five and a half, feet.

16. **Accent**, which forms the distinguishing feature of English verse, is the stress on a syllable in a word.

17. **Rhythm**.—When the words of composition are so arranged that the succession of accented syllables produces harmony we have *rhythm*. When the accents occur regularly we have *verse*, or *metre*.

18. **Couplets**, **triplets**, &c., are used to designate two, three, &c., verses taken together.

19. **Stanza** is a term applied to a part of a poem consisting of a number of verses regularly adjusted to one another.

20. **Feet**.—A portion of a verse of poetry consisting of two or more syllables combined according to accent is called a *foot*. Two syllables thus combined is called a *disyllabic* foot, which may be (1) an *iambus*, when the accent is on the second syllable, or (2) a *trochee*, when the accent is on the first syllable, or (3) a *spondee*, when both are

accented, or both unaccented. Three syllables combined form a *tri-syllabic* foot, which may be a *ductyl*, an *amphibrach*, or an *anapaest*.

21. **Monometer**, *dimeter*, *trimeter*, *tetrameter*, *pentameter*, and *hexameter*, are terms that indicate the number of feet or *measures* in the **verse**. Thus five iambic feet are called *iambic pentameter*. This is the metre of the *Deserted Village*, *The Task*, and also of the principal epic, dramatic, philosophic, and descriptive poems. From its use in epic poetry, where *heroic* deeds are described, it is called *heroic measure*. An iambic hexameter verse is called an *Alexandrine*.

22. The **Elgiac stanza** consists of four pentameter lines rhyming alternately.

23. The **Sponserian stanza** consists of eight heroic lines followed by an *Alexandrine*.

24. **Common Metre** consists of four verses, the first and third being iambic tetrameters, and the second and fourth, which rhyme, iambic trimeters.

25. **Short Metre** has three feet in the first, second, and fourth lines, and *four* in the third.

26. **Long Metre** consists of four iambic tetrameter lines.

27. **Ottava Rima** is a name applied to an Italian stanza consisting of eight lines, of which the first six rhyme alternately, and the last two form a couplet.

28. The **Rhyme Royal** consists of seven heroic lines the first five recurring at intervals and the last two rhyming.

29. The **Ballad Stanza** consists of four lines, the first and third being iambic tetrameters, and the second and fourth iambic trimeters.

30. **Pauses**. — Besides the usual pauses indicated by the punctuation and called *sentential pauses*, there are in poetic

diction the *Final* pause at the end of each line and the *Cæsural* pause.

31. The *Cæsural Pause* is a suspension of the voice somewhere in the line itself. It is not found in short lines, and in long verses is movable. It generally occurs near the middle, but may come after the 4th, 5th, 6th, or 7th syllable. It is often found in the middle of a foot, but never in the middle of a word. Sometimes a secondary pause called *demicæsural* is found before and also after the *cæsural*.

32. *Scansion* is a term applied to the division of a verse into the feet of which it consists.

33. *Classification of Poetry*.—In respect to form and mode of treatment, poetry may be divided into (1) *Epic*, (2) *Dramatic*, and (3) *Lyrical*.

34. *Epic* poetry is that variety in which some great event is described, or where the exploits of heroes are treated of. The leading forms of *Epic* poetry are these:—(1) The Great *Epic*, as the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid*, *Paradise Lost*; (2) The *Romance*, as the *Fairie Queene*, *The Lady of the Lake*; (3) The *Ballad*, as *Cherry Chase*, Macaulay's *Lay of Horatius*; (4) The *Historical Poem*, as Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*; (5) The *Tale*, as Byron's *Corsair*, *Enoch Arden*; (6) The *Mixed Epic*, as Byron's *Childe Harold*; (7) The *Pastoral*, *Idyll*, &c., as the *Cotter's Saturday Night*, the *Excursion*; (8) *Prose Fiction*, including sentimental, comical, pastoral, historical, philosophical, or religious novels.

35. *Dramatic Poetry* deals also with some important events, but differs from *Epic* poetry where the author himself narrates the events forming its subject, in having the various characters represent, in action or conversation, the story to be described. *Dramatic poetry* is of two kinds, (1) *Tragedy*, where the human passions and woes or misfortunes of life are
 such a manner as to ex-

cite pity, as Shakespeare's *Macbeth* or *Hamlet*; (2) Comedy, where the lighter faults, passions, actions, and follies are represented, as the *Merchant of Venice*.

36. **Lyric Poetry** is so called because originally written to be sung to the Lyre. Its principal kinds are: (1) The Ode, as Gray's *Bard*; (2) The Hymn, as those of Cowper; (3) The Song, as those of Burns or Moore; (4) The Elegy, as Gray's; (5) The Sonnet, as those of Shakespeare or Wordsworth; (6) The simple Lyric, as Burns' *Mountain Daisy*.

37. **Further Classification** as to object will embrace; (1) Descriptive poetry, as Thomson's *Seasons*; (2) Didactic, as Wordsworth's *Excursion*; (3) Pastoral, as Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*; Satirical, as Butler's *Hudibras*; (5) Humorous, as Cowper's *John Gilpin*.

II. FIGURES OF SPEECH.

38. **A Figure** is a deviation from the *ordinary form or construction or application* of words in a sentence for the purpose of greater precision, variety, or elegance of expression. There are three kinds, viz., of *Etymology*, of *Syntax*, and of *Rhetoric*.

39. **A Figure of Etymology** is a departure from the usual form of words. The principal figures of etymology are: *Aphæresis*, *Prosthesis*, *Syncope*, *Apocope*, *Paragoge*, *Diacresis*, *Synæresis*, *Tmesis*.

40. **Aphæresis**.—The elision of a syllable from the beginning of a word, as *'neath* for *beneath*.

41. **Prosthesis**.—The prefixing of a syllable to a word, as *agoing* for *going*. If the letters are placed in the middle, *Epeuthesis*, as *farther* for *farer*.

42. **Syncope**.—The elision of a letter or syllable from the body of a word, as *med'cine* for *medicine*.

43. **Apocope.**—The elision of a letter or syllable from the end of a word, as *tho'* for *though*.

44. **Paragoge.**—The annexing of a syllable to the end of a word as *deary* for *dear*.

45. **Diæresis.**—The division of two concurrent vowels into different syllables, as *co-operate*.

46. **Syncæresis.**—The joining of two syllables into one, in either orthography or pronunciation, as *dost* for *doest*, *lored* for *lor-ed*.

47. **Tmesis.**—Separating the parts of a compound word, as “*What time soever*.” When letters in the same word are interchanged, as *brunt* for *burnt*, *nostrils* for *nose-thirles*, the figure is called *Metathesis*.

48. **A Figure of Syntax** is a deviation from the usual construction of a sentence for greater beauty or force. The principal figures of syntax are : *Ellipsis*, *Pleonasm*, *Syllepsis*, *Enallage*, *Hyperbaton*, *Periphrasis*, *Tautology*.

49. **Ellipsis.**—An omission of words with a rhetorical purpose, as “Impossible !” *Asyndeton* is the omission of connectives.

50. **Pleonasm.**—The employment of redundant words, as “Thy rod and thy staff, *they* comfort me.”

51. **Syllepsis.**—An inferior species of *personification*, as “The moon gives *her* light by night.”

52. **Enallage.**—The substitution of one part of speech for another, as—

“Whether charmer *sinner* it or *saint* it

If folly grow romantic I must paint it.”—Pope.

53. **Hyperbaton.**—The transposition of words in a sentence, as “*A man he was* to all the country dear.”

54. **Periphrasis or Circumlocution.**—The employment of more words than are necessary to convey the sense, as the use of a definition or descriptive phrase instead of a

noun, as “He was charmed with *the idea of taking up arms in the service of his country.*”

55. **Tautology.**—The repetition of the same sense in different words, as—

“The dawn is overcast—the morning lowers,
And heavily in clouds brings on the day.” — Addison.

56. **A Figure of Rhetoric** is a form of speech artfully varied from the direct and literal mode of expression for the purpose of greater effect. Rhetorical figures may be divided into three classes.

57. **I. Figures of Relativity.**—*Antithesis, Simile, Metaphor, Allegory, Personification, Apostrophe, Vision, Allusion, Irony, Sarcasm, Synecdoche, Metonymy, Euphemism, Idotes, Epithet, Catachresis.*

58. **II. Figures of Gradation.**—*Climax, Hyperbole.*

59. **III. Figures of Emphasis.**—*Epizeuxis, Anaphora, Epiphora, Anadiplosis, Epanalepsis, Alliteration, Anacoluton, Aposiopesis, Paralepsis, Erotesis, Epanorthosis, Syllepsis, Epiphonesis.*

60. **Antithesis.**—The statement of a contrast of thoughts and words, as “The wicked flee when no man pursueth, but the righteous are bold as a lion.”

Under this figure may be mentioned *Ozymoron*, or a contradiction of terms, as “a pious fraud”; *Antimetabole*, where the words are reversed in each member of the antithesis, as “A wit with dunces, and a dunce with wits.”

61. **Simile or Comparison.**—A formal expression of resemblance, as: “He shall be *like a tree* planted by the rivers of water.”

62. **Metaphor.**—An implied comparison or a *simile* without the sign, as “Pitt was *the pillar* of the State.”

63. **Allegory.**—A continuation of *metaphors*, or a story having a figurative meaning and designed to convey in-

struction of a moral character, as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*

64. **Personification.**—A figure in which some attribute of life is ascribed to inanimate objects, as “The mountains *sing together*, the hills *rejoice* and *clap hands*.”

65. **Apostrophe.**—A turning off from the subject to address something absent, as “Death is swallowed up in victory. O Death, where is thy sting?”

66. **Vision.**—The narration of past or absent scenes as though actually present, as “I see before me the gladiator lie,” etc.

67. **Allusion.**—That figure by which some word or phrase in a sentence calls to mind something which is not mentioned, as “It may be said of him that he came, he saw, he conquered.”

68. **Irony.**—A figure by which we mean to convey a meaning the contrary of what we say, as where Elijah addresses the worshippers of Baal, “Cry aloud, for he is a god.”

69. **Sarcasm.**—A mode of expressing vituperation under a somewhat veiled form, as the *Letters of Junius*.

70. **Synecdoche.**—A figure where—

1. A part is put for the whole, as “A fleet of twenty *sail*.”
2. The species for a genus, as “our daily *bread*.”
3. The concrete for the abstract, as “The *patriot* comes forth in his politics.”
4. The whole for a part, as “Belinda smiled and *all the world* was gay.”
5. The genus for the species, as “The *creature* was sad.”
6. The abstract for the concrete, as—

“Belgium's capital had gathered then
Her *beauty* and her *chivalry*.”

Antonomasia is a form of synecdoche where a proper noun is used to designate a class, as—

“Some village *Hampden*, that with dauntless breast,
The little tyrant of his fields—a thistledown.”

71. **Metonymy.**—A figure where one thing is described by another thing in substantiating—

1. The cause for the effect, as

“A time there was, ere England’s griefs began,
When every *roof of a good man* earned a crown.”

2. The effect for the cause, as “*Grey hair* should be respected.”

3. The sign for the thing signified, as “He carried away the *palm*.”

4. The container for the thing contained, as “The toper loves his *bottle*.”

5. The instrument for the agent, as “The *pen* is mightier than the *sword*.”

6. An author for his works, as “We admire *Addison*.”

72. **Euphemism.**—A figure by means of which a harsh expression is set aside and a softer one substituted in its place, as “The merchant prince has *stopped payment*.”

73. **Litotes.**—A figure in which by denying the contrary, more is implied than is expressed, as

“Immortal names,
That were *not born to die*.”

74. **Transferred Epithet.**—An epithet joined to another to explain its character, as “The *sun* is south.”

75. **Catachresis.**—A figure where a word is wrested from its original application and made to express something at variance with its true meaning, as “Her voice was but the *shadow* of a sound.”

76. **Climax.**—An ascending series of thoughts or statements increasing in strength, as “What a piece of work

is man ! how noble in reason ! how infinite in faculties : in form and moving, how express and admirable ! in action, how like an angel ! in apprehension, how like a God !—*Hamlet*. Where the series is descending we have an *Anticlimax*, as “If once a man indulges himself in murder, very soon he comes to think little of robbing ; and from robbing he comes next to drinking and Sabbath-breaking, and from that to meivility and procrastination.”—De Quincy.

77. **Hyperbole**.—A figure by which more is expressed than the truth and where the exaggeration is not expected to be taken literally, as “They were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions.” (Referring to David’s statement concerning Saul and Jonathan.)

78. **Epizeuxis**.—The immediate repetition of some word or words for the sake of emphasis, as—

“*Restore him, restore him if you can from the dead.*”

79. **Anaphora**.—The repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of each of several sentences or parts of a sentence, as—

“*No more* the farmer’s news, the barber’s tale,
No more the woodman’s ballad shall prevail,
No more the smith his dusky brow shall clear.”

80. **Epiphora**.—Where the repetition is at the end, and
Anadiplosis.—Where the repetition is in the middle ;

“Has he a gust for *blood*? *Blood* shall fill his cup.”

81. **Epanalepsis**.—Where there is a repetition at the end of the sentence of the word or words at the beginning

82. **Alliteration**.—The repetition of the same letter or letters, as “*Apt alliteration’s artful aid.*”

83. **Anacoluthon**.—A figure by which a proposition is left unfinished and something else introduced to finish the sentence, as—

"If thou be'st he—but oh, how fallen, how changed from him who," etc.

84. **Aposiopesis.**—A sudden pause in a sentence by which the conclusion is left unfinished, as—

"For there I picked up on the heather.
And there I put within my breast,
A moulted feather, an eagle's feather—
Well—I forget the rest."—Browning.

85. **Paraleipsis** or omission.—A figure by which a speaker pretends to pass by what at the same time he really mentions, as "I do not speak of my adversary's scandalous venality and rapacity; I take no notice of his brutal conduct."

86. **Erotosis.**—An animated or passionate interrogation, as—

"Hath the Lord said it? and will He not do it?
Hath He spoken it? and shall He not make it good?"

87. **Epanorthosis.**—A figure by which an expression is recalled and a stronger one substituted in its place, as "Why should I speak of his neglect—*neglect did I say? call it rather contempt.*"

88. **Syllepsis.**—The use of an expression which is taken in a literal and metaphorical sense, as—

"Lie *heavy* on him, Earth, for he
Laid many a *heavy* load on thee."

89. **Ecphonesis.**—An animated exclamation, as—
Othello. —O, my soul's joy,

If after every tempest come such calms,
May the winds blow till they have wakened death."

90. Other figures are often found, as *zeugma*, whereby a verb, etc., applicable to only one clause does duty for two, as—

"They wear a garment like the Scythians, but a language peculiar to themselves."—Sir J. Mandeville.

Anacronosis, where the speaker appeals to the judgment of his audience on the point in debate, as if they had feelings common with his own. The *Enigma* or riddle. The *Epigram*, where the mind is roused by a conflict or contradiction between the form of the language and the meaning to be conveyed, as "The child is father of the man." *Personal Metaphor*, where acts are attributed to inanimate objects. The *Paronomasia* or pun. The *Parable*, *Proverb*, *Repartee*, etc.

III. LIST OF PRINCIPAL WRITERS.

Dryden, John (1630—1700). *Annus Mirabilis*, *Absalom and Ahithophel*, *Mac Flecknoe*, *The Hind and Panther*, *Translation of Virgil*, *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*, *Alexander's Feast*.

Locke, John (1632—1704). *Essay on Human Understanding*, *Letters concerning Toleration*, *Treatise on Civil Government*, *Thoughts concerning Education*.

Newton, Sir J. (1642—1727). *Principia*, *Optics*.

Wycherly, William (1640—1715). Several immoral Comedies.

De Foe, Daniel (1661—1731). Besides editing *The Review*, wrote *Robinson Crusoe*, *Moll Flanders*, *History of the Great Plague*, *Captain Singleton*, *Mrs. Veal's Apparition*.

Bentley, Richard (1662—1742). Editions of *Horace*, *Terence*, *Phædrus*, and other classical works.

Prior, Mathew, (1665—1721). *The Town and Country Mouse*, *Solomon*.

Swift, Jonathan (1666—1745). *Tale of a Tub*, *Drapier's Letters*, *Gulliver's Travels*, and poems including *Morning*, *The City Shower*, *Rhapsody on Poetry*, *Verses on My Own Death*.

Congreve, William (1669—1728). Several comedies of

a very immoral tendency, and the tragedy *The Morning Bride*.

Cibber, Colley (1671—1757). *The Comedy Careless Husband*.

Steele, Richard (1671—1729). Besides writing for the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, *Guardian*, *Englishman*, etc., he wrote comedies—*The Funeral*, *The Tender Husband*, *The Lying Lover*, *The Conscious Lovers*.

Addison, Joseph (1672—1719). Contributions to the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, *Guardian*, *Whet*, *Examiner*, etc. Poems—*Letter from Italy*, *Campaign*, *Hymns*, *Rosamond*, *The Drummer*, *Cato*.

Vanbrugh, John (1672—1726). *The Provoked Wife*.

Rowe, Nicholas (1673—1718). *The Fair Penitent* and *Jane Shore*.

Watts, Isaac (1674—1748). *Hymns*, *Logic*, *The Improvement of the Mind*.

Philips, Ambrose (1675—1749). *The Distressed Mother*.

Philips, John (1676—1708). *The Splendid Shilling*.

Farquhar, Geo. (1678—1707). *The Recruiting Officer*, *The Beau's Stratagem*.

Parnell, Thomas (1679—1717). *The Hermit*.

Young, Edward (1681—1765). *Night Thoughts*, *The Revenge*, *The Love of Fame*.

Berkeley, George (1684—1753). *Theory of Vision*.

Tickell, Thomas (1686—1740). Besides writing for *Spectator* and *Guardian*, wrote the ballad of *Colin and Lucy*, and the poem *Kensington Gardens*.

Gay, John (1688—1732). *The Shepherd's Week*, *Trivia*, *The Fan*, *Black-eyed Susan*, *Beggars' Opera*.

Pope, Alexander (1688—1744). *Essay on Criticism*, *The Messiah*, *Elegy on an Unfortunate Lady*, *The Rape of the Lock*, *The Epistle of Eloisa to Abelard*, *The Temple of*

Fume, translation of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, *The Dunciad*, *Essay on Man*, *Windsor Forest*.

Richardson, Samuel (1689—1761). *Pamela*, *Clarissa Harlowe*, *Sir Charles Grandison*.

Savage, Richard (1696—1743). *The Wanderer*.

Thomson, James (1700—1748). *Seasons*, *Liberty*, *The Castle of Indolence*.

Wesley, John (1703—1791). *Hymns and Sermons*, *Journal*.

Fielding, Henry (1707—1754). *Joseph Andrews*, *Tom Jones*, *Jonathan Wild*.

Johnson, Samuel (1709—1784). Wrote for the *Rambler*, *Idler*; and *A Life of Savage*, *Dictionary of the English Language*, *London*, *Rasselas*, *Journey to the Hebrides*, *Lives of the Poets*.

Hume, David (1711—1776). *A Treatise of Human Nature*, *Moral and Philosophical Essays*, *Political Discourses*, *History of England*.

Sterne, Lawrence (1713—1768). *Tristram Shandy*, *The Sentimental Journey*.

Shenstone, William (1714—1763). *The Schoolmistress*, *The Pastoral Ballad*.

Gray, Thomas (1716—1771). *The Elegy*, *The Progress of Poesy*, *The Bard*, *Ode on Spring*, *Ode to Adversity*, *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Etna*.

Walpole, Horace (1717—1797). *Letters and Memoirs*, *The Castle of Otranto*.

Collins, William (1720—1759). *Odes to Liberty and Evening*, *The Passions*, *Oriental Eclogues*.

Akenside, Mark (1720—1776). *Pleasures of Imagination*.

Robertson, William (1721—1770). *Histories of Scotland*, *Charles the Fifth* of Germany and America.

Smollett, Tobias (1721—1771). *Roderick Random*,

Peregrine Pickle, Humphrey Clinker, History of England.
Edited Critical Review.

Warton, Joseph (1722—1800). *Ode to Fancy.*

Blackstone, William (1723—1780). *Commentaries on the Laws of England.*

Smith, Adam (1723—1790). *The Wealth of Nations, The Theory of Moral Sentiments.*

Goldsmith, Oliver (1728—1774). *The Traveller, The Deserted Village, Retaliation, The Vicar of Wakefield, The Good-Natured Man, She Stoops to Conquer, Animated Nature, Histories of England, Rome, Greece, Citizen of the World.*

Percy, Thomas (1728—1811). Published a collection of ballads entitled *Reliques of English Poetry.*

Warton, Thomas (1728—1790). *The Pleasures of Melancholy, History of English Poetry.*

Burke, Edmund (1730—1797). *The Vindication of Natural Society, Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful, Reflection on the Revolution in France, Letters on a Regicidal Peace.*

Falconer, William (1730—1769). *The Shipwreck.*

Cowper, William (1731—1800). *Truth, Table-talk, Expostulation, Error, Hope, Charity, John Gilpin, The Task* translation of Homer, *Letters.*

Darwin, Erasmus (1732—1802). *The Botanic Garden.*

Gibbon, Edward (1737—1794). *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

Macpherson, James (1738—1796). *Fingal and Temora*, two epic poems, which he represented he had translated from materials discovered in the Highlands.

Junius, (Sir P. Francis) (1740—1815). *Letters of Junius.*

Boswell, James (1740—1795). *Life of Johnson.*

Paley, William (1743—1805). *Elements of Moral and*

Political Philosophy, Horæ Paulinæ, Evidences of Christianity, Natural Theology.

Mackenzie, Henry (1745—1831). *The Man of Feeling, The Man of the World.*

Bentham, Jeremy (1747—1832). *Fragment on Government*, and numerous writings on Law and Politics.

Sheridan, Richard B. (1751—1817). *The Rivals, The School for Scandal, The Duenna, The Critic.*

Chatterton, Thomas (1752—1770). Wrote the tragedy of *Ellar, Ode to Elfr, Execution of Charles Bardin*, and other poems which he represented he found, and said had been written in the 15th century by Rowley, a Monk.

Stewart, Dugald (1753—1828). *Philosophy of the Human Mind, Moral Philosophy.*

Crabbe George (1754—1832). *The Library, The Village, The Parish Register, The Borough, The Tales of the Hall.*

Burns, Robert (1759—1796). *Tam O'Shanter, To a Daisy, To a Mouse, The Cotter's Saturday Night, The Jolly Beggars.*

Hall, Robert (1764—1831). *Sermons.*

Clarke, Adam (1760—1832). *Commentaries on the Bible.*

Bloomfield, Robert (1766—1823). *The Farmer's Boy, Rural Tales, May-day with the Musæ.*

Edgeworth, Maria (1767—1848). *Castle Rackrent, Popular Tales, Leonora, Tales of Fashionable Life, Patronage.*

Opie, Amelia (1769—1853). *Father and Daughter, Tales of the Heart, Temper.*

Wordsworth, William (1770—1850). *An Evening Walk, Descriptive Sketches, The Excursion, The White Doe of Rylstone, Sonnets, Laubmoine, Lines on Revisiting the Wye.*

Scott, Sir W. (1771—1832). *Border Minstrelsy, The Lay of the Last Minstrel, Marmion, The Lady of the Lake, Vision of Don Roderick, Rokeby, Life and Works of Dryden; no-*

vels, including *Waverley*, *Rob Roy*, *Ivanhoe*, *Kenilworth*, *Woodstock*; *Life of Napoleon*.

Montgomery, James (1771—1854). *Greenland*, *The Pelican Island*, *The Wanderer in Switzerland*, *Prison Amusements*, *The World before the Flood*.

Coleridge, Samuel T. (1772—1834). *Ode to the Departing Year*, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, *Christabel*, *Genesiere*, *Lectures on Shakspeare*. *Biographia Literaria*.

Lingard, John (1771—1851). *History of England*.

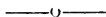
Southey, Robert (1774—1843). *Wat Tyler*, *Thalaba*, *The Curse of Kehama*, *Roderick*, *Vision of Judgment*, *Lives of Wesley*, *Corpei*, &c.

Moore, Thomas (1779—1852). *Irish Melodies*, *Lalla Rookh*, *The Fudge Family in Paris*, *The Epicurean*.





THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH POETRY.



Poetry as a Mirror.—The literature of a nation bears an intimate relation to its history. The poets of a period fairly express its prevailing thoughts and sentiments. Great eras in a country's rise and progress have always been found to correspond with the great intellectual eras of its growth. When questions of a political, social, moral or religious importance have stirred men's minds, then have arisen authors whose works have reflected the predominant features of the times in which they lived. Thus the heroic greatness of the Hellenic race is marked by Homer, not only rich in poetic thought, but clearly the outcome of the mental life and character of ancient Greece. The age of Pericles, brilliant in political achievements, was no less illustrious for its intellectual vigor. The Augustan era, forming the lofty climax of Roman influence and power gave to the Latin language Virgil and Horace, Cicero and Livy. A review of English literature, and especially English poetry, exhibits still more clearly this intimate relationship. The writings

of Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden and Pope as well as Cowper, Burns, Scott, Tennyson and Browning reflect, as with a magic mirror, the genius of the periods of which they are distinguished representatives.

Chaucer belongs to a period when the darkness of the Middle Ages was passing away. New languages were forming on the continent, and the happy fusion by courtly influence of Anglo-Saxon and Norman-French, terminated a long struggle for ascendancy, and produced our noble English tongue. It was the age of Dante, of Petrarch, and Boccaccio —when Wycliffe by his writings translations and discourses was creating a ferment in the religious world,—when Crecy and Poitiers were gained, and Edward III. was encouraging the settlement of Flemish artisans and extending the trade of the English merchants over every sea of Europe, and thus paving the way for that commercial supremacy which should subsequently add to the nation's glory. With Chaucer is well exemplified the fact that the poet to be successful must live *with* and *for* his generation, must suit himself to the tastes of his public, must have common sympathies with his readers and must adopt a style that accords with the emotions by which he is actuated. The *Canterbury Tales*, his greatest work, vividly represents that gaily apparelled time when king tilted in tournament, and knight and lady rode along with falcon on wrist, and when friars sitting in tavern sang war songs quite in harmony with the nation's victories on the continent, but little in keeping with their sacred calling. With the "father of English poetry" every character is a perfect study elaborated with a careful finish and minuteness of touch; the beautiful and grand objects of nature are painted with grace and sublimity; and results are thus combined which are unsurpassed by any English poet that

lived before his time. He became the acknowledged inventor of the heroic line, characterized not by quantity as that of Greece and Rome, but by accent which thus became a recognized feature of English versification. The legacy left to our literature has not been unproductive in the hands of a long succession of heirs. His influence had its effect upon all the great poets that followed him, and upon none more evidently than those of the present century.

Spenser.—The breaking up of old systems, the revolts of the people, and the furious struggles between the Houses of York and Lancaster darkened for a time as with a mist, the lamp of English poetry, but it possessed sufficient vitality to enable it to blaze forth under favorable influences with greater brilliancy than before. The invention of printing, the interest in classical literature—the study of Greek philosophy, and, especially, the freedom with which religion was discussed, aroused a spirit of activity which added powerful impulses to the growth of the national intellect. The translation of the works of modern Italy, and those of France where letters received an earlier revival, the circulation of the Scriptures presenting a variety of incidents, images, and asperations connected with oriental life and manners; the study of the allegorical tales and romances of chivalry and the fostering influence of a learned queen who surrounded her court with men qualified to shine in every department of learning, ushered in a period which is appropriately termed the Augustan age of English literature.

It is not difficult to understand how, with such knightly spirits as Raleigh and Essex, the essential spirit of chivalry, “high thought and a heart of courtesy” as Sidney puts it, found a fitting exponent in Edmund Spenser. Among the poets who flourished exclusively in

the reign of Elizabeth he stands without a rival. No master-piece of the great painters ever glowed on canvas with more reality than the *Fairie Queene*, and no poet says Wilson, "has ever had a more exquisite sense of the beautiful" than its author. He deemed himself the poetical son of Chaucer, and was, in his own times, taunted with "affecting the ancients," and with engrafting on his own language the "old withered words and exploded persons" of a former period. If guilty, so may Virgil and Milton, Scott and Wordsworth receive similar condemnation. At all events succeeding generations have paid homage to the richness and pathos of his strains, and the author of *Paradise Lost*, and the author of the *Seasons*, as well as Scott and Tennyson have been essentially indebted to this "Rubens of English poetry."

Shakespeare.—The new impulses by which the human mind began to be stirred, mark the early part of the sixteenth century as the great frontier-line which divides the Literary History of the Middle Ages from what we call Modern. The Revival of Classical Learning opened up to a people zealous for enquiry the rich mines of knowledge of the Greeks and Romans. Theological discussions aroused a spirit of research and investigation. The extensive circulation of the Scriptures and other works decided the question of a national tongue. Under Shakespeare, the greatest writer the world has ever seen, the drama reached its highest perfection. But the "myriad-minded" writer of tragedy and comedy with all his depth, sublimity, creative power and refinement was inspired by that same love of nature and truth that pervades the works of Chaucer, Spenser and the great modern poets. Nature was his great preceptress from whose inspired dictates he spoke—"warm from the heart and faithful to its fires"—and in his disregard of rules he

pursued at with his winged way through all the labyrinths of fancy and of the human heart. No writer has exhibited such a deep acquaintance with the human heart, its passions, its powers, its weaknesses and its aspirations. From his works may be gathered precepts adapted to every condition of life, and to every circumstance of human affairs, and no writings except the Bible have been more closely interwoven with the language of every-day life.

Milton nobly closes that rich poetry of the imagination which marks the age begun by Spenser. With a mind stored with invaluable treasures of the mines of Greece and Rome, and an extensive acquaintance with the older English poets, many years actively employed in the keen struggle for civil and religious liberty, well qualified him for undertaking a theme lofty in its conception, and intimately connected with everything important in the circumstances of human history. In the crash which shattered the regal and hierarchic institutions of the country, his majestic, unworldly and heroic soul saw only the overthrow of false systems, and the dawn of a bright period marked by private investigation and individual liberty. All the higher influences of the Renaissance are summed up in Milton. That pure poetry of natural description which he began in *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso* has no higher examples to produce from the writings of Wordsworth, Scott, or Keats. Living in an age when skilful criticism, though it purified English verse, gave rise to false conceits and extravagance, his knowledge of good classical models enabled him to free his works from the advancing threads of a rising school.

Not only did he create the English epic and place himself by the side of Homer, Virgil and Dante, but he put new life into the masque, sonnet and elegy, the descriptive

lyric, the song and the choral drama. Though untrue in his descent from the Elizabethans in a want of humor and of the dramatic faculty, we can forget these defects while we listen to the organ ring of his versification, the stately march of his diction, the beautiful and gorgeous illustrations from nature and art, the brightly coloured pictures of human happiness and innocence, and the lofty sentiments of *Paradise Lost*. Blank verse, which Surrey had introduced into our literature, is managed by Milton with a skill that shows its power in the construction of an heroic poem. The depth of sublimity of his conceptions finds a corresponding expressiveness in his numbers; and his power over language was not in its variety due to a musical ear, but had its source in the deep feelings of a heart influenced by the conscientious spirit of Puritanism.

The Restoration. With the return of the English people to monarchical government they were sadly disappointed in their expectations of a return at the same time to their ancient nationality and modes of thought. The exiled Charles and his royalist followers had rubbed off by their friction with the men and manners of other nations much of those external habits and customs, which, if not of the most commendable description, possessed a spirit of nationality and patriotism. They returned with strong predilections in favor of French literature, being fully impressed with the belief of its superiority over that of every other country. It was not the first or last instance when a foreign literature exercised a marked influence upon our own. Chaucer, though plainly the poet of character and of practical life, writes largely after the manner of the Provencals, but improved by Italian models. Spenser's manner is also that of the Provencals, but guided by the authors of a later Italian school. The character of German literature influenced Scott, and in our own day, Carlyle.

Milton, as we have seen, was the great representative of the Classical school, now to be followed by the writers who moulded their works after the tastes of Paris. The social mischiefs of the Restoration were the worst fruits of the French influence. The Court and the society of the metropolis began to exercise a powerful influence on the various departments of literature. The corrupt and profligate manners of the Court tainted too easily a people who had felt the restraints of Puritan rule. The lighter kinds of composition mirrored faithfully the surrounding blackness, which required no short period of time, no little exertion and a religious revival to clear it away. The drama sank to a frightful degree of shame and grossness. Other forms of poetry were marked by no higher object than that to which satire aspires. Writing verse was degraded from a high and noble art to a mere courtly amusement, or pander to the immorality of a degenerated age.

The Artificial School of Poetry. The poets already considered belonged to the "school of nature." Influences were now at work which gave rise to another phase of poetic genius. The Gothic and Romance literature of the Middle Ages gave its inspiration to Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton. The study of the Greek and Roman Classics gave an impetus to a class of writers who, influenced by causes of another kind, developed a new style of poetry. The great masters possessed artistic as well as natural powers. The secondary poets of the Elizabethan period, though fresh and impassioned, as a result of the strong feelings that inspired them, were extravagant and unrestrained because of their want of art. When the national life grew chill, the poets inspired by no warm feelings became lavish in the use of "far-fetched meanings," and fanciful forms of expression. With poetry extravagant in words and fantastic in images, the sense

became often obscure. The natural style unregulated by art assumed an unnatural character. Milton, in addition to the inspiration derived from Gothic and Romance literature, by his knowledge and imitation of the great classical models, gave the first example in England of a pure, finished and majestic style. Those who felt during the Restoration period the power of his genius were also influenced by the "school of inquiry," which all over Europe showed its work in science, politics and religion. In France this tendency to criticise was well represented in poetry by Boileau, LaFontaine, and others, whose effort after greater finish and neatness of expression told on English writers at a time when French tastes began "even to mingle with the ink that dropped from the poet's pen." The new French school was founded on classical models, which had already become fashionable in England. The admirers of Charles II. were also admirers of that great nation so friendly to the Stuarts, which under Louis XIV. had reached the highest point of civilization then attained by any European state. It would be a mistake to conclude that the Restoration was the origin of the "artificial school." The work had already been begun and had made much progress before the death of the Protector. The accession of the "merry monarch" gave it a mighty impulse, and in accelerating the adoption of "cold, glittering mannerism, for the sweet, fresh light of natural language" added at the same time the poisonous colouring of an immoral court.

Dryden. Milton the great leader of the setting age, had scarcely given to the world his *Paradise Lost*, when Dryden, the leader of the rising age, appeared before the public. As a poet his is the great name of the period that followed the Restoration. He had fallen upon evil times. The poet must reflect his age. There was little noble to

reflect. The poetry of the passions of the human heart, the poetry of the affection, and the poetry of religion had shown evident indications of decline. Satire, didactic and philosophical poetry came to the front. Living in a most infamous period of English history when the most flagrant corruption was rampant in church and state, Dryden, in want of better subjects turned satirist. There his wit and sarcasm turned against his opponents rendered him unsurpassed by Horace or Juvenal. Our literature possesses no more vigorous portrait-painter. His choice of words and forms of expression are most appropriate. In versification he is one of our greatest masters. He was a diligent student of the best models. He carried to the highest perfection the rhymed heroic couplet of ten syllables. By the occasional introduction of a triplet and the skilful use of the Alexandrine at the end of a paragraph, he knew well how to break the uniformity of the couplet and give to his versification that

“ Long-resounding march and energy divine.”

which gave to his poetry of this metre such vigour, sonorousness and variety.

Pope. The glitter of Dryden's poetry dazzled the public mind from the death of Milton till his own in 1700. His most distinguished pupil was Alexander Pope, who as a poet surpasses his master in the most characteristic features of the artificial school. In mechanical execution Pope is without a peer. His neatness and correctness of expression, pointed and courtly diction, harmony of versification and melody of rhyme rank him *par excellence* the artist of poetic style. In his polished heroic couplets are found sparkling wit, strong sense, good taste and terse and vigorous command of the choicest English. We find, however, that coldness of sentiment and disregard of the

emotions and passions of the soul which Dryden had observed, carried to such perfection by Pope that the public soon after longed for a return to nature. The age was not designed to cultivate the highest poetic genius. Matter was regarded of less importance than the form of the words by which it was expressed. We look in vain through Pope's elaborately polished verses for those qualities that would place him among the greatest masters of the lyre. He has none of the universality of Shakespeare or sublimity of Milton. Of the varying shades and gradations of vice and virtue, wisdom and folly, he was a nice observer and an accurate describer. Had he studied the great English poets more, and paid less attention to the school of Horace and Boileau, his memory would have been hallowed with still more affectionate and permanent interest. His great object was to express himself smoothly. Attractive and lucid utterance was his aim. With a desire to "set" gems rather than create them, to make "correct" verse his "study and aim," it is no wonder that "truth" was often "cut short to make a sentence round." In the first half of the eighteenth century no name is more brilliant than that of the author of *The Rape of the Lock*, *Windsor Forest*, *The Temple of Fame*, *The Dunciad* and the translation of *Homer*. In his *Epistles* and *Essay on Man* we have numerous passages that have supplied to our current literature more phrases and sentiments remarkable for their mingled truth and beauty than are to be found probably in any other pieces of equal length.

Decay of the Artificial School. The greater part of the eighteenth century was, in a literary point of view, cold, dissatisfied and critical. It valued forms more than substance. Warm feelings, grand thoughts and creative genius, were less esteemed than elegance of phrase and symmetry of proportion. In a period when philosophy

was essentially utilitarian, and religion a system of practical morality, it is not surprising that poetry was largely didactic and mechanical. With such attention to form, an active criticism rendered our English prose, when employed by such masters as Addison, for the first time, absolutely simple and clear. For similar reasons during the same period, Nature, Passion, and Imagination decayed in poetry. But matters were coming to a crisis. Hume and Robertson were beginning their career as historians. Richardson, Fielding and Smollet aroused a taste for light literature. In moral philosophy Jonathan Edwards and Joseph Butler were laying the foundations of systems on a sounder basis. New thoughts moved men. The poets felt the impulse of the transition period. The publication of Warton's *History of Poetry* and Percy's *Reliques* revived a taste for the bold, free style of our earlier writers. The inspiration seized the writers of verse, and a return from the classical to the romantic, from the artificial to the natural, soon began to manifest itself. Pope's name stood highest until his death in 1744, but the most distinguished of his contemporaries departed widely from the style of their great master. Thomson made no attempt to enter the school of polished satire and pungent wit. Equal originality is shown by Young in his startling denunciations of death and judgment, stirring appeals and choice epigrams. Gray and Collins in aiming at the dazzling imagery and magnificence of lyrical poetry show the "new departure." The former is not without the polish and exquisitely elaborated verse of Pope, but as well as Collins, he shows the freshness, the spirit of imagination, and the sprightly vivacity of the older poets. Akenside in strains of melodious and original blank verse, expatiated on the operations of the mind and the associated charm of taste and genius. Johnson alone of the eminent

authors of this period seems to have adopted the style of Dryden and Pope. But his ponderous Latinized composition was counteracted in part by the simplicity of Goldsmith and Mackenzie. Many of the poets of the transition period show the didactic tendency of the times. It required in some cases an effort to break off from what had been popular. To such a low ebb had the public taste been reduced that Gray was ridiculed and Collins was neglected. The spirit of true poetry was not, however, dead. The conventional style was destined to fall, leaving only that taste for correct language and polished versification which Pope had established. The seed was sown and the next generation was to see under Cowper that work completed which Thomson had begun.

The System of Patronage. During the Elizabethan period and considerable time afterwards the social standing of literary men was far from encouraging. The names of Spenser, Butler and Otway are sufficient to remind us that warm contemporary recognition was not enough to secure an author from a position of want. *Paradise Lost* yielded its author during eleven years only £15. Ben Johnson in the earlier, and Dryden in the latter part of the seventeenth century found the laureate's pittance scarcely sufficient to keep their heads above water. The first few years of the next century showed signs of improvement. In the reign of Charles II., Dorset had introduced the system of patronage, which, under Montague, Earl of Halifax, became subsequently so serviceable to men of literature. The politicians who came into power with the Revolution were willing for a time to share the public patronage with men of intellectual eminence. Addison, Congreve, Swift and other authors of less note won by their pens not only temporary profits, but permanent places. Prior, Gay, Tickell, Rowe and

Steele held offices of considerable emolument, and Locke, Newton and others were placed above indigence by the same system of princely favor. Before Pope was thirty the fruits of his pen amounted to over £6000, and by the popular mode of subscription he received £8000 for his translation of Homer. Such rewards indicate a readiness among both political parties to patronize literature with a beneficence honourable to those who gave, and advantageous to those who received. In one respect at least the period may be termed the Augustan age of literature. Its patrons were in high places and were prepared to give it substantial rewards. Fortunately for the cause of literature, though painfully inconvenient for many writers of the "transition period," this system of patronage was doomed shortly after the accession of the House of Hanover.

Decline of Patronage. The reigns of William III. and Anne are noted for the encouragement given to literature by those in authority. After the accession of the House of Hanover, there was a marked change. The reign of George II., though productive of much progress in science and literature is marked by no indication of originality. Still it had many authors who deserved better treatment than they received. As the system of party government developed, the political partisans were sufficient to absorb all the sinecures at the disposal of the leaders. Authors were rewarded by no munificent patronage from the Crown or ministers of state. Harley and Bolingbroke were succeeded by Sir Robert Walpole, a wise tactician, but a man with no taste for learning, no admiration of genius. His liberality to the extent of £50,000 was extended only to obscure and unscrupulous partisans, the supporters of a corrupt government, whose names might have passed into oblivion but for the satire

of Pope. Scribbling for a party in pamphlets and newspapers was rewarded, while genius was neglected. The considerable sums spent on literature were given for services equally degrading to giver and receiver. Men of talent, who would not stoop to the "dirty work" of sustaining with their pens a base administration, might starve in Grub Street, or be pilloried in the *Dunciad*, although had they lived thirty years before, they might have been entrusted with an embassy or appointed Commissioners, Surveyors or Secretaries. Men like Churchill, who turned their pens to political satire, were well remunerated. Young obtained, in time, a pension, and Thomson, after tasting the worst miseries of author-life, was rewarded with a sinecure. But Collins, Fielding, and even Thomson and Johnson, were arrested for debt, and the wretched and precarious lives of many, have made Grub Street, in which they herded together, suggestive of rags, hunger and misery. The age of dedication was intolerable to men of independence of spirit. Authors by profession must either starve or become parasites. The reading public was very limited, and the booksellers, in consequence, were not to be blamed for the small sums given to authors. A better day was dawning. The right of the Press to discuss public affairs created a class of writers of higher moral and literary qualifications. The time was ripe for the emancipation for ever, of literature from the "system of flattery." The letter of Johnson to Chesterfield gave the "knock-down" blow. It was, as Carlyle calls it, "the far-famed blast of doom proclaiming into the ear of Lord Chesterfield, and through him, of the listening world, that patronage should be no more." The period between the old and the new system, was one of much privation and suffering. In that period lived Goldsmith.

Revival of the Natural School. From about the middle of Pope's life to the death of Johnson, was a time of transition. The influence of the didactic and satiric poetry of the critical school, lingered among the new elements which were at work. The study of Greek and Latin classics revived, and that correct form for which Pope sought, was blended with the beautiful forms of "natural feeling and natural scenery." The whole course of poetry was taken up with greater interest after the publication of Warton's *History of English Poetry*, and Dr. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* in 1765. Shakespeare was studied in a more accurate way, and the child-likeness and naturalness of Chaucer began to give delight. The narrative ballad and the narrative romance, afterwards perfected by Sir Walter Scott, took root in English verse. Forgeries such as *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem*, by Macpherson, and the fabrications of Chatterton,

"the marvellous boy,

The sleepless soul, that perish'd in his pride,"

indicate the drift of the new element. It was felt that the artificial school did not exhibit fully the noble sentiments, emotions and thoughts of the human soul. Man alone had been created of by the poets. Nature now was taken up. The polish and accuracy of Pope is fully preserved by such writers as Gray, Collins and Goldsmith, but their verse is also "instinct with natural feeling and simplicity." Natural description had appeared already in the poems of the Puritans, Marvel and Milton; but Thomson, in the *Seasons*, was the "first Poet who led the English people into the new world of nature in poetry, which has moved and enchanted us in the works of Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats and Tennyson, but which was entirely impossible for Pope to understand." The real and actual were, as

subjects of song, to be substituted for the abstract and remote. The increase in national wealth and population, led to the improvement of literature and the arts, and to the adoption of a more popular style of composition. The human intellect and imagination, unhampered by the conventional stiffness and classic restraint imposed upon former authors, went abroad upon wider surveys and with more ambitious designs.

The age of Cowper. Of all poetical writers of the last twenty years of the eighteenth century the name of Cowper casts the greatest illustration upon the period in which he lived. The hard artificial brilliancy of Pope standing at the head of that list, which included Gibbon and Hume, Chesterfield and Horace Walpole had scarcely ceased to dazzle the poets of the Johnsonian era. The death of "king Samuel" in England, like that of Voltaire in France, was not followed by the accession of another to the throne of literature. The reaction which followed the Restoration did not readily subside, and the approach of the French Revolution was marked by movements of great social as well as of great political importance. In England the forces which had been silently gathering strength ushered in a revolution no less striking than that which convulsed the continent. The attention of the community was arrested by changes of a moral and religious character, which are still running their course. The earnestness of the puritan had almost disappeared, and the forms of religion were found with little of its power. Scepticism widely pervaded the wealthy and educated classes. The progress of free inquiry had produced a general indifference to the great questions of Christian speculation. It arose partly from an aversion to theological strife, as a result of the civil war, and partly from the new intellectual and material channels

to which human energy was directed. The spiritual decay of the great dissenting bodies had gone hand in hand with that of the establishment. It was an age of gilded sinfulness among the higher classes, and of a sinfulness ungilded, but no less coarse, among the lower classes. Drunkenness and foul language were not sufficient to render the politician guilty of them unfit to be prime minister. The purity and fidelity of woman were sneered at, as out of fashion. The vast increase of population which had followed the growth of towns, and the rapid development of manufactures had been met by little effort to improve the moral or intellectual condition of the masses. Without schools the lower orders were ignorant, and brutal to a degree which it is hard to conceive. The rural peasantry who were fast being reduced to a state of pauperism by the abuse of the poor-law had in many cases no moral or religious training of any kind. Within the towns matters were worse. There was no effective police to withstand the outbreaks of ignorant mobs. It was the age of the old criminal law when cutting a pear-tree or stealing a hare, was regarded as a capital crime, while the "gentleman" might with impunity be guilty of duelling, gambling, or outrages on female virtue. It was the age of the old system of prison discipline, which aroused the philanthropy of Howard. It was a period which has associated with it fagging and bullying in school and the general application of the rod as the most potent aid in the process of instruction. It was the period with which the names of Walpole and Newcastle are identified, and which has associated with it rotten boroughs, political corruption, party without principle, and all the rancourness of faction warfare. The sights that indicate cruelty and hardness of heart, such as bull-rings, cock-pits and whipping-posts

were quite as common as the fumes that indicate intemperance. It was the age of great reforms. Johnson had left his impress on the improved tone of society and had overthrown the system of patronage; Wilberforce and Clarkson were coming forward to abolish the slave trade. Burke and Pitt were to restore the higher principles of statesmanship, and to redeem the character of public men. A more important reform and one which gave an impulse to all the others, was of a religious character.

In the middle classes, the piety of a former period had not completely died out. From that quarter issued the "Methodist movement," which awakened a spirit of moral zeal, that softened the manners of the people, called forth philanthropists and statesmen who infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, reformed our prisons, abolished the slave trade, gave to popular education its first impulse, discussed measures for arresting the evils of intemperance, and adopted various methods of a Christian character for bettering the social condition of the humbler classes. (See Green's English History.) The enthusiasm of the Wesleys and Whitefield was not kindled against the rules of the Church or State, but only against vice and irreligion. The results of their zeal are not confined to the denomination which owes its origin to the movement, and no body is more ready than the English Church to acknowledge the great advantages of the religious revival of the last century.

If Wesley came to revive religion and impress upon his followers that Christian worship was "of the heart," Cowper, who was imbued with the spirit of the movement came to regenerate poetry, to Christianize it, to elevate it, and to fill it again with feeling and with truth. If the ballads of a nation have, as in the case of Burns, a lasting effect in arousing patriotism, the religious poems of Cowper may be regarded no less influential in extending "that religion which exalts and ennobles man."



LIFE OF OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

Birth 1728. In the village of Pallas, or Pallasmore, in the parish of Ferney, county of Longford, Ireland, was born on the 10th of November, 1728, Oliver Goldsmith. The Goldsmiths were a respectable Protestant family of English descent, which had long been settled in the country without acquiring wealth or fame. In an unpretending parsonage lived the father of the poet, the Rev. Charles Goldsmith, who had married Anne, the daughter of the Rev. Oliver Jones, master of the diocesan school at Elphin. Oliver was the second son in a family of four sons and two daughters. Though "passing rich with £40 a year," Mr. Goldsmith found it necessary to devote his attention partly to the cultivation of land. Two years after the poet's birth, he exchanged the curacy of this out-of-the-way and almost inaccessible hamlet for a more lucrative living near the village of Lissoy, in the county of Westmeath.

Removal to Lissoy, 1730. In his life-long banishment, Oliver Goldsmith often, no doubt, looked back to

the home of his childhood, his early friends and his boyish occupations, and to Lissoy we turn for the source of those impressions which have given us "Sweet Auburn," with its charming associations. To magnify delight of the mind in what is long remembered and remote, and to overlook the defects of the past is a common feature of human nature. With this understanding, it is not to be wondered at that we fail to find the dark side of Lissoy exhibited in the "loveliest village of the plain."

Young Goldsmith's education was begun at home by Elizabeth Delap, a maid servant, who taught him his alphabet, and pronounced him a dunce.

At Mr. Byrne's School, 1734. The means of the poor clergyman having been taxed very heavily to bestow a classical education on his eldest son Henry, whom he intended for the church, the same amount of cultivation was not bestowed on the genius of the gifted second son. Oliver was accordingly sent to a kind of hedge school, where he was taught reading, writing and arithmetic with a view to becoming prepared for earning his future livelihood in a merchant's office. This parish school was taught by Thomas Byrne, an old soldier, who, though educated for a teacher, had seen service in the war of the Succession in Spain, under the chivalrous and romantic Earl of Peterborough. He professed to teach nothing but the rudiments of learning; and, probably, occupied much of his time with his pupils in entertaining them with stories about ghosts, banshees and fairies, and marvellous adventures in which the hero was the master himself. Oliver's vivid imagination kindled at these recitals, and the impressions formed on his mind tinged all his after life. Byrne not only spoke the Celtic language, but was a passionate admirer of the compositions of Carolan, and other Irish bards, whom he tried to imitate. At the age of

seven or eight years Oliver attempted to write poetry, and showed precocious signs of poetical genius—"he lisped in numbers, for the numbers came." To scribble verses is not always a sign of coming greatness, but Mrs. Goldsmith detected in her son's poetry the germ of future powers, and pleaded that he might receive better instruction.

At Mr. Griffin's School, 1736. The mother's earnest solicitations prevailed, and it was resolved to give Oliver a university education. He was therefore placed, after his recovery from an attack of small-pox, which had pitted him with more than usual severity, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Griffin, of Elphin. An incident occurred at this time which is said to have changed the future career of the young genius. His uncle, Mr. John Goldsmith, at whose house he resided while attending Mr. Griffin's school, was entertaining a juvenile party, and Oliver was requested to dance a hornpipe. The fiddler, struck by the odd look of the boy capering about the room, called out "*Æsop*," and Goldsmith instantly replied,

"Our herald hath proclaimed this saying,
See *Æsop* dancing and his monkey playing!"

This quickness of repartee raised him much in the estimation of his uncle, the Rev. Thomas Contarine, who was present, and the father was induced to remove Oliver to the school of Athlone, where he remained two years under the care of the Rev. Mr. Campbell. On the resignation of this gentleman through ill health, the boy was removed to the Rev. Patrick Hughes's school at Edgeworthstown, county of Longford. His life at these schools was far from happy. Awkward and unprepossessing in appearance, his idle disposition and blundering manner only excited the ridicule of his thoughtless schoolmates. As a school boy he exhibited more than average ability, but

much less than average application. Notwithstanding his want of industry, he gave sufficient promise of excellence to induce some wealthy friends, especially Mr. Contarine, to offer assistance towards the expenses of a University education. The father had crippled his means so much in giving a marriage dowry of £400 to one of his daughters, that were it not for the kindness of his uncle, Goldsmith's college course would have been out of the question.

Enters Trinity College, 1745. The embarrassed circumstances of Mr Goldsmith made it necessary that Oliver should enter college as a sizar. The young gentleman, now in his seventeenth year, at first revolted against this proposal, and consented only after his uncle Contarine, who himself had been a sizar, used his persuasions. The sizars paid nothing for board or tuition, and very little for lodging, but were obliged in those days to perform various menial services around the college, such as sweeping the court, carrying up the dinner to the fellows' table, arranging the plates and pouring out the ale. The tutor under whom he was placed was rough and unsympathetic, and poorly fitted to train a proud, thoughtless and eccentric pupil. When Oliver entered his name was the lowest on the list, and during his college career at Dublin he continually neglected his studies, and invariably stood low at the examinations. He was turned down to the bottom of the class for playing the buffoon in the lecture room, received a public reprimand for pumping water on a constable, broke the college rules by stealing out of gates at night to hear sung street-ballads which he had written himself and sold for five shillings a-piece, and was caned by his savage tutor, the Rev. Mr. Wilder, for giving, in the attic story of the college, a ball and supper to some gay youths and damsels from the city. To be knocked down by his tutor in the midst of the high jinks which he had provided

for his friends with the thirty shillings, the value of an exhibition gained, was an insult too much for the unlucky sizar, who, the very next day ran away from college, sold his books and clothes, and ultimately, after being on the brink of starvation, returned home. His brother Henry comforted, fed and clothed him, and persuaded him to go back to college, and the escapade was condoned and a hollow reconciliation effected. Goldsmith showed no lack of ability according to the testimony of his celebrated fellow-student, Edmund Burke; but through indolence, and probably on account of the dissensions with Mr. Wilder, he did not graduate until 1749—two years after the regular time. While he was leading at Dublin a life divided between squalid distress and constant profligacy, his excellent father died. The poet preserved a tender recollection of this good man, and has immortalised his virtues in the exquisite portrait of the “Village Preacher” in the *Deserted Village*, and the “Man in Black” in the *Citizen of the World*, had the same original.

Receives his B. A., 1749. When Goldsmith was admitted to his degree he was again lowest on the list, and “his education seemed to have fitted him to do nothing but to dress himself in gaudy colours, of which he was as fond as a magpie, to take a hand at cards, to sing Irish airs, to play the flute, to angle in summer, and to tell ghost stories by the fire in winter.” He returned home and spent the next three years of his life almost in idleness. Occasionally he helped in his brother’s school; sometimes he went errands for his mother and frequently enjoyed the glass, pipe, cards, and jest or song among the jovial assemblage at the neighboring inn. He soon had hints that he had better begin to do something for himself. Being urged to enter the church he made application to the Bishop of Elphin for ordination. As he applied in

scarlet clothes he is said to have been speedily turned out of the episcopal palace. It is more likely that his ignorance of theology or the character which his college freaks formed, caused his rejection. He became tutor in a wealthy family, a position he held long enough to enable him to amass a sum of thirty pounds. A dispute over a game of cards made him quit the situation. With the intention of going to America, he started for Cork on a good horse, with thirty pounds in his pocket. He returned without the money in six weeks on the back of a wretched animal, telling the most amusing story of his adventures. He then resolved to study law, and having got fifty pounds from his uncle, started for Dublin, was enticed into a gambling house, lost all his money, and went back to Ballymahon where his mother's reception of him was not very cordial, though his uncle forgave him, and was once more ready to give him another chance.

Determines to Study Medicine, 1752. With a small purse, made up by his friends, he now saw Ireland for the last time, and started for Edinburgh to study medicine. He passed eighteen months in nominal attendance on lectures, but gambling, singing Irish songs and carousing in public-houses rendered his knowledge of medical science of the most superficial kind. Having persuaded his generous uncle that his professional knowledge would be improved by a sojourn at the University of Leyden, funds were forth-coming and he left Edinburgh without obtaining a diploma.

Visits Leyden, 1754. He resided about a year at this famous University, studying chemistry under Gaubius, and anatomy under Albinus. Gambling reduced him to the greatest pecuniary difficulties, from which he was released by the liberality of a friend, Dr. Ellis, Clerk of the Irish House of Commons, who also lent him a sum

of money with which to return to Paris. Then an incident occurs which shows the better side of Goldsmith's nature. He was about to leave Leyden, when, as Mr. Forster writes, "he passed a florist's garden on his return, and seeing some rare and high-priced flowers, which his uncle, Contarine, an enthusiast in such things, had often spoken and been in search of, he ran in without other thought than of immediate pleasure to his kindest friend, bought a parcel of the roots, and sent them off to Ireland."

Without money or resources, he now determined to make a pedestrian tour through Europe. With one spare shirt, a flute, a guinea, a fair knowledge of French and a little Italian, he set out on his journey. He walked by day, visiting and exploring the sunny South of France, the valleys of the Alps and the classic plains of Italy, and when evening came on, with his German flute he played from memory the delicious Irish airs which haunted his ear and by which he won a ready hospitality from the French peasant or the Flemish boor, at whose doors he lingered. "Thus," he says, "I fought my way from convent to convent; walked from city to city; examined mankind more nearly; and, if I may so express it, saw both sides of the picture." The story of the "Philosophic Vagabond," in the *Vicar of Wakefield*, is said to indicate Goldsmith's experiences in these wanderings, but it would be too much to assume that he is himself the hero of these adventures. That he was not an accurate observer of what he saw, may be readily seen from his *Animated Nature*. The series of philosophical reflections on the governments of various states, which he has in a charming, graceful style, recorded in the *Traveller*, for the lovers of English poetry, was begun in Switzerland. He visited Padua, where he studied medicine, and obtained, as he tells us, a degree. The death of his uncle stopped his Irish supplies,

and he was now called upon to begin life for himself.

Returns to England, 1756. After two years of roaming about on the Continent, he landed at Dover and soon found himself alone in London "without friends, recommendation, money or impudence." His appearance was far from prepossessing, his dress was shabby, and his Irish brogue and eccentric antecedents were against him. His degree, his acquaintance with the learned Albinus and learned Gaubius, and his flute so serviceable on the Continent availed him not. Some employment must be sought to keep off starvation. Through the recommendation of Dr. Radcliffe, a mild, benevolent man, who had been joint-tutor with the savage Wilder at Trinity College, he became assistant master in a school, but his flighty genius was ill-adapted to the duties of such an occupation. He pounded drugs in a chemist's laboratory, and ran about the metropolis with phials for charitable purposes. By the advice and assistance of Dr. Sleight, an old fellow-student at Edinburgh, he set up as a physician in Southwark, from which he removed to the Temple. His patients, according to his own statements, were numerous, but they were among the poorest and humblest classes of society, and his fees were small and seldom paid. Necessity drove him to do some hack-work for the booksellers. He earned a miserable pittance as a corrector of the press, in the establishment of Richardson. The position was not pleasing to him, and soon after he drifted to Peckham, where we find him (1757) usher of Dr. Milner's school. This gentleman made him acquainted with Mr. Griffiths, publisher and proprietor of the *Monthly Review*. He was employed as a writer shortly afterwards on the staff of that periodical, receiving for his work, board, lodging, and a moderate salary. He made the acquaintance of several *Litterateurs*, including Dr. Smollett, the editor of

the *Critical Review*. He found the vassalage of a bookseller and the mortification of having his articles revised by Mrs. Griffiths more galling to his proud spirit than the irksome and monotonous duties of usher. In a few months the engagement was broken off and he took charge of Dr. Milner's school during the illness of the latter, which proved fatal. Through the influence of the Doctor, he had secured a situation as physician to one of the factories in India. The appointment was subsequently cancelled, either because Goldsmith disliked the distant exile from all whom he loved, or because he felt incompetent to fill the post. At all events, he failed to pass an examination before the College of Surgeons; but whether to qualify himself for this position or as hospital mate, is uncertain. His best friends were now dead. Failure had attended his efforts in some half-a-dozen callings. He had earned titles as a writer. Literature was now his only hope.

Beginning of Authorship, 1759. Goldsmith had lingered around the gates of literature for some years before his ambition had inspired him to enter the enchanted ground. His first efforts were to obtain a little money to help him on to something more definite and substantial. Besides his articles for the *Monthly Review*, he wrote a *Life of Voltaire* for which he received twenty pounds and a like sum for *The Memoirs of a Protestant condemned to the Gallies of France for his Religion*. The first of his more ambitious works was an *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe*. He set about this to provide money to equip himself for the promised medical appointment on the Coromandel coast. This work did more for the author than give him an outfit for the voyage. The Indian project fell through, but in the eyes of the booksellers his value was enhanced by the appearance of the *Enquiry*. The book was published anonymously, but

the authorship was soon no secret in Grub Street. It appeared the 2nd of April, 1759, and, in October of the same year, he published the first number of the *Bee*, a weekly magazine, filled with essays on a variety of topics. In the mean time, he wrote for the *Critical Review*, the *Busy Body*, the *British Magazine* and the *Public Ledger*. If these writings did not secure him riches, they secured him favor among the well known men of the day. To his miserable garret in Fleet Street, Percy, afterwards Bishop of Dromore, made his way; Smollett valued his services; Burke had spoken of the pleasure given him by Goldsmith's review of his essay on the *Sublime and Beautiful*; and even the great Cham himself sought out this obscure author and formed what is perhaps the most interesting literary friendship on record. Among his acquaintances, also, were Reynolds and Hogarth. He became, in 1763, one of the nine original members who formed the celebrated Literary Club. The Club, which was suggested by Reynolds, consisted of Johnson, Burke, Beauclerc, Goldsmith, Bennet, Nugent, Hawkins, Chamier and Reynolds, and exercised great influence on the literature of the time.

The *Citizen of the World* was a reprint of the series of letters which appeared in *The Ledger*, a daily newspaper started by Mr. Newbery. They were written in the character of a Chinese who had come to study European civilization and their charms lies wholly in their delicate satire and not at all in any foreign air which the author may have assumed. It is not a Chinaman, but a European who expresses his dissatisfaction with certain phases of civilization visible around him. They have, however, an originality of perception, a delicate delineation of life and manners, and a playful humor which render them interesting to readers of the present day. Goldsmith himself has been identified with the "Man in

Black," but though the latter shows some of the author's weaknesses and generous nature, the resemblances do not hold out. About the same time followed two other anonymous works, *The Life of Ben Nash* and *The History of England in a Series of Letters from a Nobleman to his Son*. The latter work was attributed at the time to Lords Chesterfield, Orrery and Lyttelton, and obtained great success. His *Survey of Experimental Philosophy*, which was not printed till some years afterwards, was also written about this time.

The Arrest. In the midst of the drudgery which Goldsmith performed for Newbery, the publisher of the *Monthly Review*, he had hopes of writing a work that would secure its author more remuneration than bed and board. His acquaintance with Johnson and other members of the Literary Club spurred him to attempt something better than hack-work. The literary Fung had, doubtless, perceived the genius that obscurely burned in the uncouth figure of this freshman, and was anxious to secure for him the respect and consideration of others. While still in the employment of Newbery, Goldsmith abandoned his apartments in Fleet Street, and took lodgings in the house of a Mrs. Fleming, who lived in some part of Islington. Occasionally plenty seems to favor him, but more frequently want stares him in the face. His desire to "shine" in society made him often extravagant in his expenditure for dress. It is quite possible debt occasionally caused him to go into hiding to escape from his creditors. This may partly account for Goldsmith disappearing from the pages of Boswell's famous memoir at this time. Boswell and Goldsmith were not too friendly. The intimacy of the latter with Johnson did not please the celebrated biographer. Boswell called his rival a blunderer and a feather-brained person. Goldsmith being asked who was the

Scotch cur that followed Johnson's heels, replied: "He is not a cur; you are too severe—he is only a bur. Tom Davies flung him at Johnson in sport, and he has the faculty of sticking." For a record of a most remarkable event in Goldsmith's life, it is necessary to return to Boswell, whose accuracy in other matters leaves no doubt that these are Johnson's own words: "I received one morning a message from poor Goldsmith that he was in distress, and as it was not in his power to come to me, begging that I would come to him as soon as possible. I sent him a guinea, and promised to come to him directly. I accordingly went as soon as I was dressed, and found that his landlady had arrested him for his rent, at which he was in a violent passion. I perceived that he had already changed my guinea, and had got a bottle of Maderia, and a glass before him. I put the cork into the bottle, desired he would be calm, and began to talk to him of the means by which he might be extricated. He then told me that he had a novel ready for the press, which he produced to me. I looked into it, and saw its merit; told the landlady I should soon return; and having gone to a book seller, sold it for £60. I brought Goldsmith the money, and he discharged his rent; not without rating his landlady in a high tone for having used him so ill." This novel was the *Vicar of Wakefield*.

The Traveller, 1764. So far Goldsmith was unknown to the public as an author. The recommendation of Johnson had most to do with the sale of the manuscript of the novel. It remained for upwards of two years unprinted, in the hands of the publisher. Before its appearance the great crisis in Goldsmith's literary life came. At the time of the arrest the poem of the *Traveller*, the fruit of many years' toil, and the consummation of long cherished hopes was almost completed. To polish

and prune this his masterpiece had been the delight of his leisure hours. It was the first work to which he had put his name. It raised him at once to the rank of a legitimate English classic. Johnson, who had read over the proof-sheets, putting in a line here and there, wherever he thought fit; introduced it to the public by a favorable notice in the *Critical Review*. He declared it "the finest poem since Pope's time." Fox called it "one of the finest poems in the English language." It introduced him at once to many noble and influential people. Lord Clare (then Lord Nugent) became his intimate friend. The Earl of Northumberland told Goldsmith he had read the poem, was delighted with it, and as he was going as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland, of which country he understood the poet was a native, "he would be glad to do him any kindness he could." No thought of self crossed the mind of Goldsmith. He recommended his brother, Henry, to the Earl, and intimated that he depended on the booksellers for support. Though he had now "struck for none but fame" it is not probable that he gained any pecuniary benefit from the growing popularity of the work. To have found the book dedicated to Johnson would not have been a surprise. To inscribe it to his brother accorded well with the author's nature. It was to his brother Henry, ten years before, that he had sent the first sketch of the poem, and the very first line "Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow" strikes a key note that pervades the whole composition.

The Vicar of Wakefield, 1766. The effect produced by the publication of the *Traveller* was soon visible. The obscure essayist became the first poet of the age. He moved into better quarters in Garden Court, hired a manservant, and appeared in very fine clothes with wig, sword, and gold-headed cane. At the suggestion of

Reynolds he resumed the medical profession; but disappointment caused him to return again to literature. Many of his essays that had appeared anonymously were now republished. In 1765 he published his beautiful ballad of the *Hermit*, which appeared the next year in the *Vicar of Wakefield*. The plan of the novel is full of wild improbabilities. No definite plot appears to have been concocted by the author, when he began to write. Many of the incidents are quite unnatural and incredible. The expedients by which events are brought about as shown in the latter part of the work are nothing short of desperate. Still it is a charming picture of domestic life, full of sly humor, tenderness and pathos. Its true delineation of the better side of human nature and its striking contrasts of good features of character with traits of an opposite kind, have made the work admired by hundreds who pay little attention to the intricacies of the story. Scarcely a feeling of malignity or ill-nature, or even of satire is to be found from beginning to end. The style is always expressive, harmonious and pleasing. With all its blunders and inconsistencies the story not only amuses, but takes root in the memory and affections, and has obtained a wider popularity than any novel relating to domestic life.

The Good-Natured Man, 1768. Goldsmith was still compelled to toil for the book-sellers. His celebrity as a poet and novelist had not relieved him from debt and drudgery. Amid much miscellaneous work, consisting mainly of compilations, his leisure was devoted in a channel that soon established his fame in another department of literature. He resolved to try his fortune as a dramatist. His first attempt, *The Good-Natured Man*, was not as successful as from its merits it deserved. Though Johnson had written the Prologue, and Burke

and Reynolds had recommended it, the comedy was rejected by Garrick. It was accordingly assigned to Colman, the manager of the rival theatre in Covent Garden, where it was acted in 1768. The author cleared £500 for his benefit nights, and the sale of the copyright. Like all plots, constructed by Goldsmith, the plot of the play is very imperfect; but it possesses passages that render it excelled by few comedies. The sentimentalism of the period caused the finest scene of *The Good-Natured Man* to meet with marked disapprobation. In the opinion of the pit it was "low." The critics professed to be shocked, and Goldsmith was obliged to cut out the ludicrous passage where Miss Richland finds her lover attended by the bailiffs. So successful were Cumberland, Kelly, and the sentimental comedy, that after nine or ten nights the play was withdrawn, and its author did not appear again as a theatrical writer for five years.

Goldsmith in Society. The appearance of *The Good-Natured Man* ushered in a halcyon period in the author's life. As a poet and novelist he had gained fame. As a dramatist he secured £500, a sum too large for him to keep long. The greater part was expended in purchasing and decorating a set of chambers in Brick Court, Middle Temple. Gay entertainments, more remarkable for their mirth than their decorum were begun. These parties were generally of a most nondescript character, but, occasionally, formal entertainments were held at which Johnson, Percy and similar distinguished persons were present. Goldsmith himself was asked out to dine with Burke, Nugent, Kelly and other notables. The style he assumed would have embarrassed a better financier. The course entered upon burdened him with debts and mental distress the rest of his life. His fame now secured him plenty of labor from the book-sellers, who liberally re-

nnerated him for his services. It would have been well had he denied himself the pleasure of so many dinner engagements. They severely taxed his time and encouraged extravagant aims. At times in company he assumed grand airs, but his manner never imposed on anybody. His friends treated him with a familiarity which occasionally he was prompted to resent, but his good-nature rendered any effort of the kind unsuccessful. In the "high jinks" to which he good-humoredly resorted for the amusement of his guests the familiarity he permitted, it was not easy afterwards to discard. Many a joke was played off on poor "Goldie," who was naturally too sensitive not to feel its effects. Anxious to have the esteem of his friends, denunciation or malice, the product of envy, which men like Johnson would have passed unheeded, wounded him to the quick. "The insults to which he had to submit," Thackeray wrote, "are shocking to read of—slander, contumely, vulgar satire, brutal malignity, perverting his commonest motives and actions; he had his share of these, and one's anger is roused by reading of them, as it is at seeing a woman insulted, or a child assaulted; at the notion that a creature so very gentle and weak, and full of love should have had to suffer." But while he enjoyed the esteem of Burke, Johnson and Reynolds, he could well afford to forget the "Henricks, Campbells, Mac-Nicols and Hendersons," who, in the case of Johnson, as Lord Macaulay says "did their best to annoy him, in the hope that he would give them importance by answering them."

The Deserted Village, 1770. By courting the muses I shall starve," was a statement of Goldsmith to Lord Lisburn, which has much truth when the sums received from his poems are considered. While, for four or five years, he was collecting the materials for his most

popular poem, it was on his numerous prose works that he depended for daily bread. For his *Animated Nature*, Griffin agreed to pay him 800 guineas. A writer, whose acquaintance with *Animated Nature* would make the "insidious tiger" a denizen of Canada, was not a very safe authority. Griffin had probably consulted Johnson before making his bold offer, and the great Cham, though continually remarking on Goldsmith's extraordinary ignorance of facts, was of opinion that the *History of Animated Nature* would be "as entertaining as a Persian tale." He received £300 for a *History of Rome*, and its rapid sale made Davies, the publisher, offer him £500 for a *History of England*. His histories, though inaccurate, are written in a pleasing and interesting style. That the reputation of Goldsmith as an historian must have been considerable, is shown by the opinion of Johnson, who ranked him above Robertson, and by his appointment to the honorary office of Professor of Ancient History on the establishment of the Royal Academy of Painting. The leading idea of the *Deserted Village* had already been thrown out in certain lines of the *Traveller* (lines 333—412) and in his recorded conversations. When this charming didactic poem was published, it became immediately so popular that it passed through five editions the first three months. Every thing that Goldsmith now wrote was read by the public. He had no need to wait for the commendation of the reviews, which, in the case of the *Deserted Village*, bestowed nothing but praise. What the author received from Griffin for the new book is not accurately known, and we are therefore unable to judge whether a poet at that time might court the "draggie-tail muses" without risk of starvation. If fame was his chief object, he was rewarded, not only by thousands of readers in his own time, but by tens of thousands from that period

to the present. The delightful picture where his youth had been passed, the preacher, the school-master, the aged beggar, the ale-house, will ever live in his melodious lines. Its lovely description, its touching appeals to human sympathy, its delightful images, stamp the poem with a vitality which will probably preserve it in its present high place, as long as the English language exists. Its reasoning may be erroneous, and its theory adverse to the recognized principles of political economy, but the exquisite finish and polish of the verses, the graceful and tender manner in which our feelings are enlisted in the interests of a race, who, he supposes, is driven from its native soil by the inroads of wealth, have been noticed and admired, without any danger of the fluctuations of poetic fashion altering the verdict invariably pronounced in its favor.

She Stoops to Conquer, 1773. Happily for his pecuniary circumstances Goldsmith did not depend on his poems. In the course of fourteen years he probably received upwards of £8,000 as the price of his prose works. Large sums were received for an abridgment of his *History of Rome*, a *Life of Parnell*, a *History of Greece* and a *Life of Bolingbroke*. It was to the stage that he looked for assistance out of the financial slough, into which his extravagance plunged him, and for this purpose *She Stoops to Conquer* was composed. Sentimental comedy still reigned. The manager of Covent Garden theatre was with difficulty induced to bring out the piece. In this case genuine humor triumphed; both actors and managers were agreeably disappointed when pit, boxes and galleries were in a constant roar of laughter. The fun of *The Good-Natured Man* had only been hissed by the admirers of the canting, mawkish plays of its time. On this occasion any friend of Kelly or Cumberland that

ventured to groan was greeted with the general cry, "Turn him out." The verdict of the first night kept it before the public for the remainder of the season, and three generations have not reversed the decision pronounced on its appearance the 15th of March, 1773. It is worthy of note that this comedy which still retains possession of the stage was pronounced by Horace Walpole as no comedy at all but "the lowest of farces," and with such criticism we can well understand the envy displayed by Henrick and others that infested the journalism of that day.

Increasing Difficulties. The £300 which Goldsmith received for *She Stoops to Conquer* did but little to satisfy the demands of his creditors. His engagements were becoming more and more burdensome. The high spirits that formerly enabled him to laugh off the cares of debt were insufficient to brighten his prospects for the future. His health became disordered; he began to suffer severe fits of depression; and he grew irritable and capricious of temper. He frequently endeavored to forget his troubles, by attendance at the Club, visits to the country and mixing in gay society. Though never out of debt, he spent much in various pleasures, especially in his early vice of gambling. Incessant toil was kept up. His *Animated Nature* was almost completed, though not published till after his death. He worked hard at a *History of Greece*, for two volumes of which he received from Griffin £250, and was preparing a third edition of his *History of England*. Besides revising his *Inquiry*, and transacting Scarron's *Comic Romance*, he thought of bringing out a *Popular Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, having been offered assistance from Johnson, Reynolds, Burke, and Dr. Burney. The booksellers were afraid, and the project was never completed. About this time were

written two short poems—*The Haunch of Venison* and *Retaliation*—the last scintillation that flashed from that bright and happy genius that was soon to be extinguished for ever. The origin of this *jeu d' esprit* has been ascribed to the epitaph which Garrick produced in the following well-known couplet :

“Here lies Nolly Goldsmith, for shortness called Noll,
Who wrote like an angel, but talked like poor Poll.”

Goldsmith being unable to reply at the time, went to work, and after some weeks sketched in clear and vigorous language the character of some nine or ten of his most intimate friends. It is more probable, however, that the business of writing epitaphs was started at the coffee-house by the whole company and that after Goldsmith's death these fugitive lines which he had previously collected were published.

Death, 1774. Long intervals of heavy work, with little exercise, and reckless dissipation after it, joined to his pecuniary anxieties, brought on a fever. Contrary to the advice of his friends, he persisted in taking powders, from which he had formerly in a similar illness obtained relief. The mental disquietude arising from a debt of £2000 was not easily allayed. Nothing could stop the progress of the fever. With a mind disturbed, sleep left him and his appetite departed. Convulsions set in and continued for more than an hour. Then the troubled brain, and aching heart of the poet, historian, novelist and essayist found rest forever.

At the news of the sad event, which took place Monday, April 4th, Burke, it is said, burst into tears, and Reynolds put aside his work for the day. A public funeral was talked of but subsequently abandoned. He was privately buried in the ground of the Temple Church. Some two years after a cenotaph was erected to his memory in West-

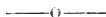
minster Abbey. The monument was executed by Nollekens and the inscription was written by Johnson.

When he consented to write "the poor Doctor's epitaph" the members of that famous circle in which Goldsmith had figured were so anxious that a just tribute should be paid to his genius, that they even ventured to desire the great Cham to amend his first draft. It is thus pleasing to notice, in addition to the great man's estimate of his genius—containing as it does the famous *Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit*—the incidents which tell of the honor paid to his memory by the love of his companions and the faithfulness of his friends. Johnson's opinion that "he was a very great man" has been corroborated by the testimonies of innumerable critics. In an admirable article from Sir Walter Scott are these words: "The wreath of Goldsmith is unsullied; he wrote to exalt virtue and expose vice; and he accomplished his task in a manner which raises him to the highest rank among British authors. We close this volume with a sigh, that such an author should have written so little from the stores of his own genius, and that he should have so prematurely been removed from the sphere of literature which he so highly adorned."





GOLDSMITH'S LITERARY CHARACTER.



As an Historian Goldsmith was highly praised by contemporary critics, including Dr. Johnson, and his works readily secured much popularity. His style as a prose writer is simple and natural. Where grasp and depth are expected he is deficient. No writer of the classic school surpasses him in freedom from artificial restraints. If an easy, narrative form of composition may be regarded as the principal qualification for writing History, he fully meets the requirements. He possessed a remarkable readiness in the art of compilation, and no historical compilations rank higher than those of Goldsmith. Few writers have done more to make the subject interesting to the young, and for a long time his histories were valuable school books. In facility of selection and condensation he had perhaps no equal; but we miss in his writings that painstaking research, that deep and careful investigation which are also necessary to constitute a great historian.

Natural History never received from him that elaborate study which is expected at the present day in dealing with a work of science. Goldsmith was not a deep observer of what he saw, and his writings are often in consequence far from profound. His *Animated Nature* like his histories has some strange blunders. The most

amusing inaccuracies are to be found in his descriptions of animals, and anecdotes are told to prove his slight acquaintance with physical science. "If he can tell a horse from a cow," said Johnson, "that is the extent of his knowledge of zoology." Still he managed to make the subject interesting by his clear, pure and flowing language at a time when scarcely a beginning had been made to impart information in this direction.

As a Novelist, Goldsmith takes high rank among the reformers of this department of literature. Previous writers of fiction had generally given an unnatural aspect to human life, and the moral tone was, especially during the Restoration period, defective. With the exception of De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe*, the men and women painted in these writings failed to reach the tastes of all classes. Even the works of Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett deal with characters belonging to the "upper ten." The *Vicar of Wakefield*, notwithstanding all its improbabilities (which we forget while captivated with its charming simplicity) has an interest for all classes. The delightful character of the "Vicar;" the exquisitely drawn portraits of his family; the simple incidents; the true and tender pathos, and the gentle, whole-souled humour maintained in the story, have given the author a prominent position among painters of English domestic life. By its picturesque descriptions of the habits and feelings of daily life, Goethe was first led to study English literature. From beginning to end it scarcely possesses a word of satire or ill-nature, and as Craik remarks: "Notwithstanding all its improbabilities, the story not only amuses us while we read, but takes root in the memory and affections as much almost as any story that was ever written."

As a Dramatist Goldsmith could scarcely be expected

to take the highest place. A good writer of this kind of literature should possess marked *objectiveness*. Goldsmith's style was remarkably *subjective*. In whatever he wrote he put a great deal of himself. Unlike Shakespeare, the prince of dramatists, who could assume any *individuality* he chose, Goldsmith's *individuality* was his weakness as well as his strength—his strength inasmuch as it lifted him above a large class of writers, and his weakness inasmuch as it could not be thrown off, but held him from going out of himself and “rising from the merely characteristic, striking or picturesque, either to the dramatic or to the beautiful, of both of which equally the spirit is unegotistic and universal.” Still *The Good-Natured Man*, though wanting point and sprightliness, presents a happy delineation of character, and his second play, *She Stoops to Conquer*, has all the requisites for interesting and amusing an audience. Johnson said of it, “he knew of no comedy for many years that had answered so much the great end of comedy—making an audience merry,” and doubtless the excellent discrimination of character, the real humour and vivacity of the dialogue in the play render it one of the richest contributions which have been made to modern comedy.

Language. “His language is certainly simple, though it is not cast in a rugged or careless mould. He is no disciple of the gaunt and famished school of simplicity. Deliberately as he wrote, he cannot be accused of wanting natural and idiomatic expression ; but still it is select and refined expression. He uses the ornaments which must always distinguish true poetry from prose ; and when he adopts colloquial plainness, it is with the utmost care and skill, to avoid a vulgar humility. There is more of this sustained simplicity, of this chaste economy and choice of words in Goldsmith than in any modern poet, or perhaps

than would be attainable or desirable as a standard for every writer of rhyme. In extensive narrative poems such a style would be too difficult."—Campbell's *British Poets*.

In the polish of his numbers he is linked to the school of Dryden and Pope, and yet he exhibits that "naturalness" which already began to decide the decay of the artificial style of versification. As a prose writer, his easy conversational forms of expression, give him a place by the side of Addison and Steele. Macaulay remarks :—"His style was always pure and easy, and on proper occasions pointed and energetic. His narratives were always amusing, his descriptions always grotesque, his humour rich and joyous, yet not without an occasional tinge of amiable sadness."

Descriptive Powers. Few poets are more charming than Goldsmith in powers of description. He was one of the first of his age who had taste and feeling enough to rely for effect on simple and unornamental representations of persons and ordinary objects of nature. "Sweet Auburn" with its preacher, master, inn and other associations is dear to every reader of English poetry. For the natural succession and connection of thoughts and images, one seeming to rise voluntarily and to be evolved from the other, the *Traveller* is peculiarly admirable. The happy descriptions of the different countries of Europe, their variety of scenery, climate, productions, systems of government, religions and inhabitants, are unsurpassed by any writer of a philosophical poem. He is a master of the art of contrast in heightening the effect of his pictures. Italy, with its rich scenery but effeminate inhabitants, is placed in juxta-position with Switzerland, possessing a sturdy, patriotic and industrious race; France, with its gay, trifling, praise-seeking citizens, forms a striking contrast to the dull, plodding, money-grasping inhabitants of

Holland; and Britain displays a happy climax in the ardent zeal of the Englishman after liberty.

National Character. In all Goldsmith's writings he exhibits the highest affection and regard for English Society. His manner, language and feeling are all essentially British. The foreign tricks and graces which had been so prevalent before his time he discards. Whether we consider his didactic style in the *Deserted Village*, his philosophical reflections in the *Traveller*, or the familiar delineation of character in the *Vicar of Wakefield*, we can never regard Goldsmith anything but an English writer.

Pathos. "His whole manner has a still depth of feeling and reflection, which gives back the image of nature unruffled and minutely. He had no redundant thoughts or false transports; but seems on every occasion to have weighed the impulse to which he surrendered himself. Whatever ardour or casual felicities he may have thus sacrificed, he gained a high degree of purity and self-possession. This chaste pathos makes him an insinuating moralist, and throws a charm of Claude-like softness over his descriptions of homely objects, that would seem only fit to be the subjects of Dutch painting. But his quiet enthusiasm leads the affections to humbler things without a vulgar association; and he inspires us with a fondness to trace the simplest recollections of Auburn, till we count the furniture of its ale-house and listen to

"The varnished clock that click'd behind the door."

Campbell's *British Poets*.

"It may be said that his range is limited, and that, whether in poetry or prose, he seldom wanders far from the ground of his own experience; but within that circle how potent is his magic, what a command it exercises over the happiest forms of art, with what a versatile grace

it moves between what saddens us in humour or smiles on us in grief, and how unerring our response of laughter or of tears !"—*Forster*.

"His humour delights us still ; his song is fresh and beautiful as when first he charmed with it ; his words are all in our mouths ; his very weaknesses are beloved and familiar. His benevolent spirit seems still to smile upon us ; to do gentle kindness ; to succour with sweet charity : to soothe, caress and forgive ; to plead with the fortunate for the unhappy and the poor."—*Thackeray's Humourists*.

Subjectiveness. In the gifted pages of Goldsmith we have a faithful picture of his own life and character. Deficient in imaginative power, but excelling in observation, all his subjects are selected from within the range of his own experience. Scarcely an adventure or character can be found in his works that may not be traced to his own personal impressions. In his biography, he shows himself the same kind, good-natured, sensitive, whimsical, unfortunate being that he appears in his writings. "Many of his most ludicrous scenes and ridiculous incidents have been drawn from his own blunders and mischances, and he seems really to have been buffeted in almost every maxim imparted by him for the instruction of his reader."—*Irring*.

As a novelist, he has little of the power of Scott in the picturing of outward life, as perceived by the senses of the observer, or realized by fancy. His own thoughts and feelings are manifestly given in the *Vicar of Wakefield*, and here, as well as in his poems and miscellaneous writings, it would be possible to reconstruct his character from what his industrious pen has bequeathed to posterity. Works that appealed much to the imagination, such as Shakespeare and Milton, received little of his attention. In that line he was not at home

and accordingly, when he goes beyond the range of his own observation, as when he attempts, in the *Deserted Village*, a delineation of the tropics, he becomes ineffective. In the region of his own experience, he is supreme.

Moral Tone. In Goldsmith's writings there is a remarkable absence of any taint arising from his careless life. In his love for inferior company which never forsook him, "no speck ever sullied the robe of his modest and graceful muse." In the miry paths of life which he trod, the innate purity and goodness of his nature never assimilated to vice and vulgarity. The lessons of infancy under the paternal roof, the gentle, benevolent, elevated, unwordly maxims of his father, the conversations of a cultivated character heard in the household of the amiable and generous Contarine breathed a grace and refinement into his mind that continued through life, and found expression in language and sentiments pure and dignified.

Religious Feeling. "It has been questioned whether he really had any religious feeling. Those who raise the question have never considered well his writings; his *Vicar of Wakefield* and his pictures of the village pastor present religion under its most endearing forms, and with a feeling that could only flow from the deep convictions of the heart. When his fair travelling companions at Paris urged him to read the Church Service on a Sunday, he replied that 'he was not worthy to do it.' He had seen in early life the sacred offices performed by his father and brother, with a solemnity which had sanctified them in his memory; how could he presume to undertake such functions? His religion has been called in question by Johnson and Boswell; he certainly had not the gloomy hypochondriacal piety of the one, nor the babbling mouth-piety of the other; but the spirit of

Christian charity breathed forth in his writings, and illustrated in his conduct, give us reason to believe he had the indwelling religion of the soul.”—*Irring*.

Was his genius recognized? The sufferings which he undoubtedly endured have generally “been made a whip with which to lash the ingratitude of a world not too quick to recognize the claims of genius.” On this point Black (*English Men of Letters*) remarks:—“His experiences as an author have been brought forward to swell the cry about neglected genius—that is, by writers who assume their genius in order to prove the neglect. The misery that occasionally befell him during his wayward career has been made the basis of an accusation against society, the English Constitution, Christianity,—Heaven knows what. It is time to have done with all this nonsense. Goldsmith resorted to hack-work of literature when everything else failed him; and he was fairly paid for it. When he did better work, when he ‘struck for honest fame,’ the nation gave him all the honor that he could have desired. With an assured reputation, and with ample means of subsistence, he obtained entrance into the most distinguished society then in England—he was made the friend of England’s greatest in the arts and literature—and could have confined himself to that society exclusively if he had chosen.” Johnson’s wise summing up of his character is well suited in an estimate of “Poor Goldsmith.” “He had raised money and squandered it, by every artifice of acquisition and folly of expense. *But let not his frailties be remembered: he was a very great man.*”



THE TRAVELLER.

Dedication.

TO THE REV. HENRY GOLDSMITH.

DEAR SIR,

I am sensible that the friendship between us can acquire no new force from the ceremonies of a dedication; and perhaps it demands an excuse thus to prefix your name to my attempts, which you decline giving with your own. But as a part of this poem was formerly written to you from Switzerland, the whole can now, with propriety, be only inscribed to you. It will also throw a light upon many parts of it, when the reader understands that it is addressed to a man, who, despising fame and fortune, has retired early to happiness and obscurity, with an income of forty pounds a year.

I now perceive, my dear brother, the wisdom of your humble choice. You have entered upon a sacred office, where the harvest is great and the laborers are but few; while you have left the field of ambition, where the laborers are many, and the harvest not worth carrying away. But of all kinds of ambition, what from the refinement of the times, from different systems of criticism, and from the divisions of party, that which pursues poetical fame is the wildest.

Poetry makes a principal amusement among unpolished nations: but in a country verging to the extremes of refinement, painting and music come in for a share. As these offer the feeble mind a less laborious entertainment, they at first rival poetry, and at length supplant her: they engross all that favor once shown to her, and, though but younger sisters, seize upon the elder's birthright.

Yet, however this art may be neglected by the powerful, it is still in great danger from the mistaken efforts of the learned to improve it. What criticisms have we not heard of late in favor of blank verse and Pindaric odes, choruses, anapests and iambs, alliterative care and happy negligence! Every absurdity has now a champion to defend it; and as he is generally much in the wrong, so he has always much to say: for error is ever talkative.

But there is an enemy to this art still more dangerous: I mean party. Party entirely distorts the judgment, and destroys the taste. When the mind is once infected with this disease, it can only find pleasure in what contributes to increase the distemper. Like the tiger, that seldom desists from pursuing man after having once preyed upon human flesh, the reader, who has once gratified his appetite with calumny, makes ever after the most agreeable feast upon murdered reputation. Such readers generally admire some half-witted thing, who wants to be the right a bold man, having lost the character of a wise one. Him they glorify with the name of poet: his tawdry lampoons are called satires; his turbid nose is said to be force, and his frenzy fire.

What reception a poem may find, which has neither abuse, party, nor blank verse to support it, I cannot tell, nor am I solicitous to know. My aims are right. Without espousing the cause of any party, I have attempted to moderate the rage of all. I have endeavoured to show that there may be equal happiness in states that are differently governed from our own; that each state has a particular principle of happiness; and that this principle in each may be carried to a mischievous excess. There are few can judge better than yourself how far these positions are illustrated in fiction.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate brother,

OLIVER GOLDSMITH.



THE TRAVELLER.

REMOTE, unfriended, melancholy, slow,
Or by the lazy Scheld, or wandering Po ;
Or onward, where the rude Carinthian boor
Against the houseless stranger shuts the door ;
Or where Campania's plain forsaken lies, 5
A weary waste expanding to the skies ;
Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see,
My heart untravelled fondly turns to thee ;
Still to my brother turns, with ceaseless pain,
And drags at each remove a lengthening chain. 10

Eternal blessings crown my earliest friend,
And round his dwelling guardian saints attend :
Blest be that spot, where cheerful guests retire
To pause from toil, and trim their evening fire :
Blest that abode, where want and pain repair, 15
And every stranger finds a ready chair :
Blest be those feasts with simple plenty crowned,
Where all the ruddy family around
Laugh at the jests or pranks that never fail,
Or sigh with pity at some mournful tale ; 20
Or press the bashful stranger to his food,
And learn the luxury of doing good.

But me, not destined such delights to share,
My prime of life in wandering spent and care :
Impelled with steps unceasing to pursue 25
Some fleeting good, that mocks me with the view ;

That, like the circle bounding earth and skies,
 Allures from far, yet, as I follow, flies ;
 My fortune leads to traverse realms alone,
 And find no spot of all the world my own. 30

E'en now, where Alpine solitudes ascend,
 I sit me down a pensive hour to spend ;
 And, placed on high above the storm's career,
 Look downward where a hundred realms appear—
 Lakes, forests, cities, plains extending wide, 35
 The pomp of kings, the shepherd's humbler pride.

When thus creation's charms around combine,
 Amidst the store should thankless pride repine ?
 Say, should the philosophic mind disdain
 That good which makes each humbler bosom vain ? 40
 Let school-taught pride dissemble all it can,
 These little things are great to little man ;
 And wiser he whose sympathetic mind
 Exults in all the good of all mankind. 44
 Ye glittering towns with wealth and splendour crowned ;
 Ye fields where summer spreads profusion round ;
 Ye lakes whose vessels catch the busv gale ;
 Ye bending swains that dress the flowery vale ;
 For me your tributary stores combine :
 Creation's heir, the world, the world is mine ! 50

As some lone miser, visiting his store,
 Bends at his treasure, counts, recounts it o'er ;
 Hoards after hoards his rising raptures fill,
 Yet still he sighs, for hoards are wanting still :
 Thus to my breast alternate passions rise, 55
 Pleased with each good that Heaven to man supplies :
 Yet oft a sigh prevails, and sorrows fall,
 To see the hoard of human bliss so small ;
 And oft I wish, amidst the scene, to find
 Some spot to real happiness consigned. 60
 Where my worn soul, each wandering hope at rest,
 May gather bliss, to see my fellows blest.

But, where to find that happiest spot below,
 Who can direct, when all pretend to know ?

THE TRAVELLER.

61

The shuddering tenant of the frigid zone 65
 Boldly proclaims that happiest spot his own ;
 Extols the treasures of his stormy seas,
 And his long nights of revelry and ease ;
 The naked negro, panting at the line,
 Boasts of his golden sands and palmy wine, 70
 Basks in the glare, or stems the tepid wave.
 And thanks his gods for all the good they give.

Such is the patriot's boast, where'er we rove,
His first, best country, ever is at home.
And yet, perhaps, if countries we compare, 75
And estimate the blessings which they share,
Though patriots flatter, still shall wisdom find
An equal portion dealt to all mankind ;
As different good, by art or nature given,
To different nations makes their blessings even. 80

Nature, a mother kind alike to all,
Still grants her bliss at labour's earnest call ;
With food as well the peasant is supplied
On Idra's cliff as Arno's shelvy side ;
And though the rocky-crested summits frown,
These rocks, by custom, turn to beds of down.
From art more various are the blessings sent—
Wealth, commerce, honour, liberty, content.
Yet these each other's power so strong contest,
That either seems destructive of the rest.
Where wealth and freedom reign, contentment fails,
And honour sinks where commerce long prevails.
Hence every state, to one loved blessing prone,
Conforms and models life to that alone.
Each to the favourite happiness attends ;
And spurns the plan that aims at other ends :
Till, carried to excess in each domain,
This favourite good begets peculiar pain.

But let us try these truths with closer eyes,
And trace them through the prospect as it lies : 100
Here, for a while my proper cares resigned,
Here let me sit in sorrow for mankind ;
Like yon neglected shrub, at random cast,
That shades the steep, and sighs at every blast.

Far to the right, where Apennine ascends, 105
 Bright as the summer, Italy extends :
 Its uplands sloping deck the mountain's side.
 Woods over woods in gay theatric pride ;
 While oft some temple's mouldering tops between
 With venerable grandeur mark the scene. 110

Could nature's bounty satisfy the breast,
 The sons of Italy were surely blest.
 Whatever fruits in different climes were found,
 That proudly rise, or humbly court the ground ;
 Whatever blooms in torrid tracts appear, 115
 Whose bright succession decks the varied year ;
 Whatever sweets salute the northern sky
 With vernal lives, that blossom but to die ;
 These here disporting own the kindred soil,
 Nor ask luxuriance from the planter's toil ; 120
 While sea-born gales their gelid wings expand
 To winnow fragrance round the smiling land.

But small the bliss that sense alone bestows,
 And sensual bliss is all the nation knows.
 In florid beauty groves and fields appear, 125
 Man seems the only growth that dwindles here.
 Contrasted faults through all his manners reign :
 Though poor, luxurious : though submissive, vain ;
 Though grave, yet trifling ; zealous, yet untrue ;
 And even in penance planning sins anew. 130
 All evils here contaminate the mind,
 That opulence departed leaves behind ;
 For wealth was theirs, not far removed the fate,
 When commerce proudly flourished through the state ;
 At her command the palace learned to rise, 135
 Again the long-fallen column sought the skies,
 The canvas glowed, beyond e'en nature warm,
 The pregnant quarry teemed with human form ;
 Till, more unsteady than the southern gale,
 Commerce on other shores displayed her sail ; 140
 While nought remained of all that riches gave,
 But towns unmanned and lords without a slave :
 And late the nation found with fruitless skill
 Its former strength was but plethoric ill

Yet still the loss of wealth is here supplied 145
 By arts, the splendid wrecks of former pride :
 From these the feeble heart and long-fallen mind
 An easy compensation seem to find.
 Here may be seen, in bloodless pomp arrayed,
 The pasteboard triumph and the cavalcade : 150
 Processions formed for piety and love.
 A mistress or a saint in every grove :
 By sports like these are all their cars beguiled ;
 The sports of children satisfy the child ;
 Each nobler aim, repress'd by long control, 155
 Now sinks at last, or feebly mans the soul ;
 While low delights, succeeding fast behind,
 In happier meanness occupy the mind :
 As in those domes, where Cæsars once bore sway,
 Defaced by time and tottering in decay, 160
 There in the ruin, heedless of the dead,
 The shelter-seeking peasant builds his shed ;
 And, wondering man could want the larger pile,
 Exults, and owns his cottage with a smile.

My soul, turn from them, turn we to survey 165
 Where rougher climes a nobler race display,
 Where the bleak Swiss their stormy mansion tread,
 And force a churlish soil for scanty bread ;
 No product here the barren hills afford
 But man and steel, the soldier and his sword : 170
 No vernal blooms their torpid rocks array.
 But winter lingering chills the lap of May :
 No zephyr fondly sues the mountain's breast.
 But meteors glare, and stormy glooms invest.

Yet still, even here, content can spread a charm. 175
 Redress the clime, and all its rage disarm.
 Though poor the peasant's hut, his feast though small,
 He sees his little lot the lot of all ;
 Sees no contiguous palace rear its head,
 To shame the meanness of his humble shed ; 180
 No costly lord the sumptuous banquet deal,
 To make him loathe his vegetable meal ;
 But calm, and bred in ignorance and toil,
 Each wish contracting, fits him to the soil.

Cheerful at morn, he wakes from short repose, 185
 Breathes the keen air, and carols as he goes ;
 With patient angle trolls the finny deep ;
 Or drives his venturous ploughshare to the steep ;
 Or seeks the den where snow-tracks mark the way,
 And drags the struggling savage into day. 190
 At night returning, every labour sped,
 He sits him down the monarch of a shed ;
 Smiles by his cheerful fire, and round surveys
 His children's looks, that brighten at the blaze ;
 While his loved partner, boastful of her hoard, 195
 Displays her cleanly platter on the board :
 And haply too some pilgrim, thither led,
 With many a tale repays the nightly bed.

Thus every good his native wilds impart
 Imprints the patriot passion on his heart ; 200
 And e'en those hills, that round his mansion rise,
 Enhance the bliss his scanty fund supplies.
 Dear is that shed to which his soul conforms,
 And dear that hill which lifts him to the storms ;
 And as a child, when scaring sounds molest, 205
 Clings close and closer to the mother's breast,
 So the loud torrent, and the whirlwind's roar,
 But bind him to his native mountains more.

Such are the charms to barren states assigned ;
 Their wants but few, their wishes all confined. 210
 Yet let them only share the praises due,
 If few their wants, their pleasures are but few ;
 For every want that stimulates the breast
 Becomes a source of pleasure when redrest.
 Whence from such lands each pleasing science flies, 215
 That first excites desires, and then supplies ;
 Unknown to them, when sensual pleasures cloy,
 To fill the languid pause with finer joy ;
 Unknown those powers that raise the soul to flame,
 Catch every nerve and vibrate through the frame. 220
 Their level life is but a smouldering fire,
 Unquenched by want, unfanned by strong desire ;
 Unfit for raptures, or, if raptures cheer
 On some high festival of once a year,

In wild excess the vulgar breast takes fire, 225
 Till, buried in debauch, the bliss expire.
 But not their joys alone thus coarsely flow :
 Their morals, like their pleasures, are but low ;
 For, as refinement stops, from sire to son,
 Unaltered, unimproved, the manners run ; 230
 And love's and friendship's finely-pointed dart
 Fall, blunted, from each indurated heart.
 Some sterner virtues o'er the mountain's breast
 May sit, like falcons cowering on the nest ;
 But all the gentler morals, such as play 235
 Through life's more cultured walks, and charm the way,
 These, far dispersed, on timorous pinions fly,
 To sport and flutter in a kinder sky.

To kinder skies, where gentler manners reign,
 I turn ; and France displays her bright domain. 240
 Gay sprightly land of mirth and social ease,
 Pleased with thyself, whom all the world can please,
 How often have I led thy sportive choir.
 With tuneless pipe, beside the murmuring Loire !
 Where shading elms along the margin grew, 245
 And freshened from the wave the zephyr flew ;
 And haply, though my harsh touch faltering still,
 But mocked all tune, and marred the dancer's skill ;
 Yet would the village praise my wondrous power,
 And dance, forgetful of the noontide hour. 250
 Alike all ages. Dames of ancient days
 Have led their children through the mirthful maze,
 And the gay grandsire, skilled in gestic lore,
 Has frisked beneath the burden of threescore.

So blest a life these thoughtless realms display ; 255
 Thus idly busy rolls their world away.
 Theirs are those arts that mind to mind endear,
 For honour forms the social temper here ;
 Honour, that praise which real merit gains,
 Or even imaginary worth obtains, 260
 Here passes current ; paid from hand to hand,
 It shifts in splendid traffic round the land :
 From courts to camps, to cottages it strays,
 And all are taught an avarice of praise ;

They please, are pleased, they give to get esteem, 265
Till, seeming blest, they grow to what they seem.

But while this softer heart their bliss supplies,
It gives their follies also room to rise ;
For praise too dearly loved, or warmly sought,
Enfeebles all internal strength of thought : 270
And the weak soul, within itself unblest.
Leans for all pleasure on another's breast.
Hence ostentation here, with tawdry art,
Pants for the vulgar praise which fools impart ;
Here vanity assumes her pert grimace, 275
And trims her robes of frieze with copper lace ;
Here beggar pride defrauds her daily cheer,
To boast one splendid banquet once a year :
The mind still turns where shifting fashion draws,
Nor weighs the solid worth of self-applause. 280

To men of other minds my fancy flies,
Embosomed in the deep where Holland lies.
Methinks her patient sons before me stand.
Where the broad ocean leans against the land ;
And, sedulous to stop the coming tide, 285
Lift the tall *rampire's* artificial pride. [*rampart*]
Onward, methinks, and diligently slow,
The firm connected bulwark seems to grow,
Spreads its long arms amidst the watery roar,
Scoops out an empire, and usurps the shore— 290
While the pent ocean, rising o'er the pile,
Sees an amphibious world beneath him smile ;
The slow canal, the yellow blossomed vale,
The willow-tufted bank, the gliding sail,
The crowded mart, the cultivated plain— 295
A new creation rescued from his reign.

Thus, while around the wave-subjected soil
Impels the native to repeated toil,
Industrious habits in each bosom reign,
And industry begets a love of gain. 300
Hence all the good from opulence that springs,
With all those ills superfluous treasure brings,
Are here displayed. Their much-loved wealth imparts
Convenience, plenty, elegance, and arts ;

But view them closer, craft and fraud appear, 305
 Even liberty itself is bartered here.
 At gold's superior charms all freedom flies ;
 The needy sell it, and the rich man buys :
 A land of tyrants, and a den of slaves,
 Here wretches seek dishonourable graves, 310
 And, calmly bent, to servitude conform,
 Dull as their lakes that slumber in the storm.

Heavens ! how unlike their Belgic sires of old—
 Rough, poor, content, ungovernably bold,
 War in each breast, and freedom on each brow ; 315
 How much unlike the sons of Britain now !

Fired at the sound, my genius spreads her wing,
 And flies where Britain courts the western spring ;
 Where lawns extend that scorn Arcadian pride,
 And brighter streams than famed Hydaspes glide. 320
 There, all around, the gentlest breezes stray ;
 There gentlest music melts on ev'ry spray ;
 Creation's mildest charms are there combined :
 Extremes are only in the master's mind.
 Stern o'er each bosom Reason holds her state, 325
 With daring aims irregularly great.
 Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
 I see the lords of human kind pass by,
 Intent on high designs, a thoughtful band,
 By forms unfashioned, fresh from nature's hand, 330
 Fierce in their native hardness of soul,
 True to imagined right, above control ;
 While even the peasant boasts these rights to scan,
 And learns to venerate himself as man.

Thine, freedom, thine the blessings pictured here, 335
 Thine are those charms that dazzle and endear ;
 Too blest, indeed, were such without alloy,
 But fostered e'en by freedom, ills annoy ;
 That independence Britons prize too high,
 Keeps man from man, and breaks the social tie : 340
 The self-dependent lordlings stand alone,
 All claims that bind and sweeten life unknown.
 Here, by the bonds of nature feebly held,
 Minds combat minds, repelling and repelled ;

Ferments arise, imprisoned factions roar, 345
 Repressed ambition struggles round her shore.
 Till, overwrought, the general system feels
 Its motions stopped, or frenzy fire the wheels.

Nor this the worst. As nature's ties decay,
 As duty, love, and honour fail to sway, 350
 Fictitious bonds, the bonds of wealth and law,
 Still gather strength, and force unwilling awe.
 Hence all obedience bows to these alone,
 And talent sinks, and merit weeps unknown ;
 Till time may come, when, stripped of all her charms,
 The land of scholars, and the nurse of arms, 356
 Where noble stems transmit the patriot flame,
 Where kings have toiled, and poets wrote for fame,
 One sink of level avarice shall lie,
 And scholars, soldiers, kings, unhonoured die. 360

Yet think not, thus when freedom's ills I state,
 I mean to flatter kings, or court the great.
 Ye powers of truth, that bid my soul aspire,
 Far from my bosom drive the low desire !
 And thou, fair freedom, taught alike to feel 365
 The rabble's rage, and tyrant's angry steel ;
 Thou transitory flower, alike undone
 By proud contempt, or favour's fostering sun,
 Still may thy blooms the changeful clime endure !
 I only would repress them to secure ; 370
 For just experience tells in ev'ry soil,
 That those who think must govern those that toil ;
 And all that freedom's highest aims can reach
 Is but to lay proportioned loads on each.
 Hence, should one order disproportioned grow, 375
 Its double weight must ruin all below.

O then how blind to all that truth requires,
 Who think it freedom when a part aspires !
 Calm is my soul, nor apt to rise in arms,
 Except when fast approaching danger warms ; 380
 But, when contending chiefs blockade the throne,
 Contracting regal power to stretch their own,
 When I behold a factious band agree
 To call it freedom when themselves are free ;

Each wanton judge new penal statutes draw, 385
 Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the law;
 The wealth of climes, where savage nations roam,
 Pillared from slaves to purchase slaves at home;
 Fear, pity, 'justice' indignation start,
 Tear off reserve, and bare my swelling heart; 390
 Till half a patriot, half a coward grown,
 I fly from petty tyrants to the throne.

Yes, brother! curse with me that baleful hour
 When first ambition struck at regal power;
 And, thus polluting honour in its source, 395
 Gave wealth to sway the mind with double force.
 Have we not seen, round Britain's peopled shore,
 Her useful sons exchanged for useless ore?
 Seen all her triumphs but destruction haste,
 Like flaring tapers brightening as they waste? 400
 Seen opulence, her grandeur to maintain,
 Lead stern depopulation in her train.
 And over fields where scattered hamlets rose,
 In barren solitary pomp repose?
 Have we not seen, at pleasure's lordly call, 405
 The smiling, long-frequented village fall?
 Beheld the duteous son, the sire decayed,
 The modest matron, and the blushing maid,
 Forced from their homes, a melancholy train,
 To traverse climes beyond the western main; 410
 Where wild Oswego spreads her swamps around,
 And Niagara stuns with thundering sound?

Even now, perhaps, as there some pilgrim strays
 Through tangled forests and through dang'rous ways.
 Where beasts with man divided empire claim, 415
 And the brown Indian marks with murderous aim:
 There, while above the giddy tempest flies,
 And all around distressful yells arise,
 The pensive exile, bending with his woe,
 To stop too fearful, and too faint to go, 420
 Casts a long look where England's glories shine,
 And bids his bosom sympathise with mine.

Vain, very vain, my weary search to find
 That bliss which only centres in the mind.

Why have I strayed from pleasure and repose, 425
To seek a good each government bestows ?
In every government, though terrors reign,
Though tyrant kings or tyrant laws restrain,
How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure ! 430
Still to ourselves in every place consigned,
Our own felicity we make or find.
With secret course, which no loud storms annoy,
Glides the smooth current of domestic joy ;
The lifted axe, the agonising wheel, 435
Luke's iron crown, and Damiens' bed of steel,
To men remote from power but rarely known,
Leave reason, faith, and conscience, all our own.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE TRAVELLER.

Published, 1764. The poem, as we learn from the Dedication, was begun during the poet's wanderings abroad. Probably the first sketch was sent from Switzerland about 1755. This may, however, have been merely the opening passage in which he talks of himself and home, and his brother. By the advice of Dr. Johnson, who himself added some of the closing lines, the work was given to Newbery, the publisher, and made its appearance on December 19, 1764. Johnson introduced it to the good opinion of the public by a notice in the *Critical Review*, which, after giving several quotations from the poem, ends thus:—"Such is the poem on which we now congratulate the public, as on a production to which, since the death of Pope, it will not be easy to find anything equal." It did not at once become popular. It was largely talked about among Goldsmith's friends. Presently people began to discuss its merits. In eight months it ran through four editions, and soon the fame of the author was established.

Epitome. After expressing his affection for his brother and invoking blessings on his quiet, hospitable home, he states that the lot of the wandering poet is of a far different character. He supposes himself seated upon some Alpine height and moralizing on the scene spread out at his feet, "in the spirit not of an unsympathetic or cynical philosopher, but of an open-hearted philanthropist." He rejoices that there is so much to enjoy though much sorrow is also present. The abode

of perfect happiness is inquired after, but the effort is vain, since each regards his own country the desired spot. He concludes that man may be happy everywhere, and that civilization is not without its disadvantages. He endeavours to prove his view by examining the condition of the people of different lands. In Italy, which possesses a fertile soil and delightful climate, he finds inhabitants ignorant and degraded. The Swiss are brave and contented amidst natural disadvantages. The French are idle and fond of pleasure, but deficient in strength of mind or independence of thought. The very nature of Holland inculcates industry and thrift, but this tends to produce a sordid love of gain. In Britain the inhabitants are free, independent, and high-spirited, but these traits beget political and social disunion. He introduces reflections of his own on the dangers of England. The ascendancy of any one class is regarded dangerous, and a proportionate adjustment of the burdens of society is recommended. He deploras the evils which arise when an aristocratic faction defies the crown or when wealth becomes predominant and forces the poor to emigrate. The search for perfect government is both futile and unnecessary, since all governments have little to do with the happiness of individuals.

Versification. The metre of *The Traveller* is Iambic Pentameter, which from its use in Epic or Heroic poems is frequently called heroic verse. Each line consists of five iambic feet. An iambic foot is made up of an unaccented and an accented syllable. Occasionally a spondee (two syllables naturally long) or a trochee (consisting of an accented and an unaccented syllable) takes the place of an iambic foot. Sometimes a foot has three syllables, one of which may be elided or the foot may be regarded as an anapest (two unaccented followed by an accented syllable). The poem is written in rhyming couplets—a form of versification which was carried to great artificial perfection by Pope. With him each couplet was generally complete in itself, and often formed a contrast. Goldsmith uses more freedom in this respect, and

his deviations show the inroads which soon became more apparent on the prevalent style of poets of the artificial school.

Its designs and plan. Lord Macaulay says, "In one respect *The Traveller* differs from all Goldsmith's other writings. In general, his designs were bad, and his execution good. In *The Traveller*, the execution, though deserving of much praise, is far inferior to the design. No philosophical poem, ancient or modern, has a plan so noble, and at the same time so simple."—*Biographies*.

"The nominal object of the poem," says Mr. Hales, "is to show that, as far as happiness is concerned, one form of government is as good as another. This was a favourite paradox with Dr. Johnson. Whether he or Goldsmith really believed it, may be reasonably doubted. Of course it is true that no political arrangements, however excellent, can secure for any individual citizen immunity from misery: it is true also that different political systems may suit different peoples, and further, that every political system has its special dangers: and it is true, again, that what constitution may be adapted for what people is often a question of the profoundest difficulty; it is true, lastly, that no civil constitution relieves any one enjoying the benefit of it from his own proper duties and responsibilities; but it is assuredly not true that there is no relation whatever between the government of a country and the happiness of its inhabitants. A government can, as it pleases, or according to its enlightenment, make circumstances favourable or unfavourable to individual development and happiness. . . . Fortunately one's enjoyment of the poem does not depend on the accuracy of the creed it professes."

"Throughout the poem two characters are visible—the exile, wandering in foreign lands and sighing for his country, to which distance is lending its enchantment: and the political philosopher, inculcating his paradoxical theory that one form of government is as conducive to human happiness as another. With Goldsmith in his former character all must thoroughly sympathise. He is always charming when he is drawing on

the rich stores of his personal experience ; and here his own individuality seems to inspire his criticisms and his complaints. But to Goldsmith as a political philosopher we must take exception. Though it is true that under the best of governments some men would probably remain miserable, while under the worst some few may attain to happiness, it is far more true that some forms of government do more for the happiness of the individual than others. A government conducted with a view to the greatest good of the greatest number may possibly make mistakes, and occasionally defeat its own objects ; but it will at any rate be more productive of happiness than the rule of a selfish and irresponsible Oriental despot, a ποιμὴν λαῶν, who regards his subjects as his flock, to be fleeced or devoured at his pleasure."—*Sankey*.

Its naturalness. "Johnson pronounced it a poem to which it would not be easy to find anything equal since the death of Pope. Though covering but the space of twenty years, this was praise worth coveting, and was honestly deserved. The elaborate care and skill of the verse, the exquisite choice and selection of diction, at once recalled to others, as to Johnson, the master so lately absolute in the realms of verse : and with these, there was a rich harmony of tone, a softness and simplicity of touch, a happy and playful tenderness, which belonged peculiarly to the later poet. With a less pointed and practised force of understanding than in Pope, and in some respects less subtle and refined, the appeal to the heart in Goldsmith is more gentle, direct, and pure. The predominant impression of *The Traveller* is of its naturalness and facility ; and there is felt the surpassing charm with which its everyday genial fancies invest high thoughts of human happiness. The serene graces of its style, and the mellow flow of its verse, take us captive, before we feel the enchantment of its lovely images of various life, reflected from its calm, still depths of philosophic contemplation. Above all, do we see that it is a poem built upon nature, that it rests upon honest truth, that it is not crying to the moon and stars

for impossible sympathy, or dealing with other worlds, in fact or imagination, than the writer has himself lived in and known."—*Forster*.

"Its ease, elegance, and tenderness have made many passages pass into the memory and language of society. It is peculiarly admirable for the natural succession and connection of the thoughts and images, one seeming to rise enforcedly, and to be evolved, from the other. It is also coloured with a tender haze, so to say, of soft sentiment and pathos, as grateful to the mind as is to the eye the blue dimness that softens the tints of a distant mountain range."—*Shaw*.

Its excellencies. "Perhaps, indeed, it may be admitted that the literary charm of *The Traveller* is more apparent than the value of any doctrine, however profound or ingenious, which the poem was supposed to inculcate. We forget all about the 'particular principle of happiness' possessed by each state in listening to the melody of the singer, and in watching the successive and delightful pictures that he calls up before the imagination."—*Black*.

"In general correctness and beauty of expression, these sketches have never been surpassed. The politician may think that the poet ascribes too little importance to the influence of government on the happiness of mankind, seeing that in a despotic state the whole must depend on the individual character of the governor; yet in the cases cited by Goldsmith, it is difficult to resist his conclusions; while the short sententious reasoning is relieved and elevated by bursts of true poetry."—*Chambers*.

NOTES TO THE TRAVELLER.

1. Remote. The adjectives in this line refer to *I* in line 7.

Melancholy. Greek *melas* black, and *chole* bile. This is one of a class of words which arose from the old theory of medicine. According to this theory there were four principal moistures or humours in the body, on the due proportion and combination of which the disposition of both mind and body depended. Consult Trench, *Study of Words*, lecture III.

Slow. “‘Chamier,’ said Johnson, ‘once asked me what he (Goldsmith) meant by *slow*, the last word in the first line of *The Traveller*. Did he mean tardiness of locomotion?’ Goldsmith, who would say something without consideration, answered, ‘Yes.’ I was sitting by, and said, ‘No, sir; you do not mean tardiness of locomotion. You mean that sluggishness of mind which comes upon a man in solitude.’ Chamier believed I had written the line as much as if he had seen me write it.”—BOSWELL, *Life of Johnson*.

“The very first line of the poem strikes a key-note—there is in it a pathetic thrill of distance, and regret, and longing; and it has the soft musical sound that pervades the whole composition.”—*Black*.

2. Or . . . or = whether . . . or.

Scheldt. This river rises in the north of France, and flows through Belgium into the North Sea. On it are situated Tournay, Oudenaarde, Ghent, Antwerp.

Po. A river that rises in the Alps, and after passing by Turin, Piacenza, and Cremona empties into the Adriatic.

3. Rude. Uncivil.

Carinthia. A province of Austria, east of the Tyrol. G. visited it in 1755.

Boor. Literally a cultivator of the soil. For degradation of meaning cf. “villain,” “churl,” “pagan,” “knave,” “varlet,” and “prude.”

4. **Door.** What peculiarity of rhyme?

5. **Campania.** A province of Central Italy celebrated in classical times for its fertility.

Forsaken. A predicate adjective. "The inhabitants of this tract of country suffer much, and have all the appearance of persons afflicted with dropsy, jaundice, and ague. Its population is therefore comparatively small, and it is usually avoided by tourists, especially at certain seasons of the year. Hence the poet calls it *forsaken*."—*Stevens and Morris*.

6. **Waste.** In the predicate nominative.

7. **Reals.** Supply "I roam." The propositions in this line are adverbial, and complements of concession to "turns."

8. **Untravelled.** That has not travelled. Cf. for the passive use *Othello*, IV, 2, "How have I been *behaved*."

Fondly. Affectionately.

9. **Brother.** The Rev. Henry Goldsmith, to whom the poem is dedicated. He was a good scholar, having greatly distinguished himself at college. After teaching for a short time he accepted the curacy of Lissoy at "forty pounds a year."

10. Cf. *Citizen of the World*, vol. I, letter iii, "The farther I travel I feel the pain of separation with stronger force. Those ties that bind me to my native country and you are still unbroken; by every remove I only drag a greater length of chain."

11. **Crown.** Subjunctive mood. See Mason, par. 195.

12. **Guardian Saints.** Guardian angels.

13. Cf. *D.V.* 149—162.

15. **Want and Pain.** *Synecdoche*.

Repair. Fr. *reparer*. "Repair," to mend, is from L. *reparare*.

16. **Ready chair.** *Metonymy*.

17. **Crowned.** Cf. "This grief is *crowned* with consolation."—Shak., *Antony and Cleop.*

18. **Around.** An adjective qualifying "family."

19. **Pranks.** Cf. *prance*.

22. Cf. "The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
It blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

—Shak., *Merchant of Venice*.

"This truth once known, to bless is to be blest."

—Rogers, *Pleasures of Memory*.

23. **Me.** Object of "leads" in l. 29.

24. **Prime.** Nominative absolute.

26. **Fleeting.** Swiftly passing. Cf. Pope, *Essay on Man* :

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast,
Man never *is*, but always *to be*, blest."

27. **Circle.** The horizon. The poet probably had in mind the phenomenon of the mirage.

28. **Far.** A noun. Cf. "till now," "at once."

29. **Alone.** Qualifies "me."

32. **Sit me.** Cf. "Hie *thee*," "he plucked *me* ope his doubt." In these and similar phrases Hales says, the pronoun is the ethic dative. Archaic forms add dignity to poetry. In Elizabethan English the use of the simple pronoun for the reflexive is common.

33. Cf. *D.V.* 190, and Rogers, *Pleasures of Memory*:

"Though far below the forked lightnings play,
And at his feet the thunder dies away."

Career. Fr. *carrière*, L. *carrus*.

34. **An hundred.** On this use of "an" Hales remarks:—"Our present rule that *a* rather than *an* is to be used before a word beginning with a consonant or a sounded *h* is of comparatively modern date. In Oldest English (what is commonly called A. S.) the shortened form does not occur. In Mediæval writers *an* is a more common form; thus in the *Ormulum* we find *an man*, in Mandeville's *Travels*, *an hors*, &c. (Stratmann); but *a* also is found. The distinction between the numeral and the article was only then completely forming. In Chaucer's writings it seems fairly formed." In the Bible we have "an house," "an habitation," "an hymn," "an host." This use in early English was perhaps due to French influence. Shakespeare's usage is pretty much the same as our own. See Mason's Gram., page 41.

35. **Lakes, &c.** These nouns are in apposition to "realms."

36. **Pomp.** Gr. *pompe*; from *pempo*, to send. It meant originally an escort, and hence a grand procession. Notice the *Antithesis*.

37. **Creation.** An abstract noun used in a concrete sense. See Mason, par. 35.

Around. See note on l. 18.

38. **Store.** Old Fr. *estoire*, L. *instauro*.

39. **Philosophic.** Reasoning.

40. **Vain.** "The poet does not use this condemnatory epithet, but puts it in the mouth of the philosopher. But the poet here mistakes the true spirit of philosophy, which echoes rather the cry of the slave-dramatist Terence, *Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto*."—*Sankey*.

41. **School-taught.** "The pride which the Stoic felt in his conquest of himself and in his superiority to the casualties of life."—*Rolfe*. Most likely the term is used with reference to the "schools" of the mediæval philosophers. Cf. Pope:

"Unlearned, he knew no *schoolman's* subtle art."

Dissemble. L. *dissimulo*, to disguise.

42. **These little things.** Those which "make each humbler bosom vain."

Man. Used for *men*, on account of the rhyme.

43. **Sympathetic.** (Gr. *sun* and *pathos*) = com-passion = fellow-feeling.

44. **Evail.** L. *Ex* and *saltare*, to leap.

45. **Crowned.** The repetition of a word is common with Goldsmith. See lines 11 and 17; 7, 23, and 34: and 48 and 52.

47. **Lakes.** Geneva, Lucerne, Zurich, Constance, &c.

Busy. In filling the sails of the ships.

48. **Swains.** The word *swain* was vaguely and somewhat affectedly used by the poets of the last century to mean "a shepherd," "a lover," "a peasant," "a servant." Cf.

"The conscious swains rejoicing in the sight,

Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light."—*Pope*.

And the *D.V.* 2:

"Where health and plenty cheer'd the labouring swain."

Dress. Fr. *dresser*, L. *dirigere*, to make straight. Cf. "vine-dresser," and see Gen. ii, 11.

50. **Heir.** Some of the earlier editions have "tenant." The word is in the nominative absolute. Supply "I being" before "creation's heir."

51. **Miser.** "From the Lat. adj. *miser*, wretched, denoting the character and disposition of the man who boards up, instead of making a good use of, his wealth. The words *miser*, *misery*,

and *miserable* have reversed their uses. *Miser* formerly meant simply a wretched person, but now a covetous one; *misery* meant covetousness, now it means wretchedness; *miserable* meant covetous, but now, wretched."—*Stevens and Morris*.

Store. How does the meaning differ from "store" in l. 38?

52. **Recounts.** In its literal sense of "counts again."

54. Cf. "*Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.*"—*Juvenal*. "*Multa petentibus desunt multa.*"—*Horace*.

Wanting. The active participle used in a passive sense. Cf. "The house is building." "The water is boiling." As *Stevens and Morris* remark, this common usage is "due to the absence of a true present participle passive."

55. **Thus, &c.** The principal proposition.

56. **Pleased.** Agreeing with the pronoun implied in "my" in 55.

Each. Used for "every." See *Mason*, par. 174.

57. **Prevails.** Used literally.

Sorrows. *Metonymy*. "Tears" are meant.

58. **To see.** The gerundial infinitive.

60. **Consigned.** Appropriated.

61. **Hope.** Nominative absolute.

62. **To see.** Gerundial infinitive = on seeing.

63. **Where, &c.** The object of "direct."

65. **Tenant.** Inhabitant.

67. **Treasures.** Whales, seals, walruses, &c.

68. **Long nights.** "In the most northern parts of Lapland the sun remains below the horizon from November 20th to January 10th."—*Sankey*.

Revelry. Fr. *réveillon*, a feast given in the middle of the night, from the verb *réveiller*, to rouse out of sleep. Some derive it from the Dutch *raveelen*, to wander loosely about.

69. Black considers it would be difficult to find in the English language more graceful melody than in this and the three following lines.

Line. The equator.

70. **Golden sands.** The Gold Coast (Guinea).

Palmy wine. Made from the sap of the Palmyra palm, the cocoa-nut palm, and other varieties.

71. **Glare.** Cf. "clear" and the L. "*clarus*" to which it is akin.

72. **Gods.** Animals, parts of animals, or idols of wood and stone.

Gave. Used for "have given." Cf. l. 113 and "saw" for "had seen" in *D. V.* 92.

74. **His best.** In his opinion. Cf. Scott's *Love of Country*, "Breathes there," &c., in *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. Cf. also Longfellow's ballad, *The Happiest Land*.

77. **Shall.** For this use of the word consult Mason, par. 229.

Wisdom. *Synecdoche*.

79. **As.** Since.

80. The want of one blessing being compensated by the possession of another.

81. **Nature, a mother.** A *metaphor*.

82. Nature produces many blessings spontaneously, but her favours (bliss) are the result of toil.

83. **Peasant.** Fr. *paysan*, from *pays* (L. *pagus*), a country.

84. **Idra.** A small town of Austria, in Carniola, a district of Illyria. It is situated partly at the bottom of a narrow valley surrounded by mountains on the river Idria, and is famous for its quicksilver mines.

Arno. A river in Tuscany.

Shelvy. Gently sloping.

85. **Rocky-crested.** Really one word.

Frown. A *personal metaphor*.

86. **Custom.** Fr. *coutume*, L. *consuesco*. Notice the *hyperbole*.

87. **Art.** Used in *antithesis* to "Nature" in 81.

88. **Content.** Cf. *Macbeth* iii. 2:

"Nought's bad, all's spent,

Where our desire is got without *content*."

89. **Strong.** For "strongly" by *enallage*.

90. **Either.** Is this grammatical? See Mason, par. 175.

91. **Contentment fails.** Since many have freedom but few wealth.

92. This statement, though often made, may be justly questioned. Cf. Wordsworth, in one of his *Sonnets*:

"Ennobling thoughts depart

When men change swords for ledgers, and desert

The student's bower for gold."

93. Cf. Pope, *Essay on Man*:

“And hence one Master Passion in the breast,

Like Aaron’s serpent, swallows up the rest.”

Prone. L. *pronus*, inclined.

96. **Sparus.** Kicks with the “spu.”

97. **Domain.** Fr. *demesne*, L. *dominium*, an estate. Here it means the country.

98. **Good.** “Thus excess of wealth produces luxuriousness of living. Excess of commercial enterprise lowers public honour. So liberty is apt to degenerate into license, and contentment to indolent acquiescence in things as they are, however bad they may be.”—*Stevens and Morris*.

Cf. Gray, *Ode on the Pleasure of Vicissitude*:

“Still where rosy pleasure leads

See a kindred grief pursue.”

99. **Try, &c.** Examine more attentively.

100. **The prospect.** The different countries.

101. **Proper.** Fr. *propre*, L. *proprius*, personal.

103. **Like.** An adjective qualifying “me.” Explain the force of the *simile*.

104. **That.** Would “which” answer here? Notice the *hyperbole*.

105. **Far.** Modifies “to the right.” The poet represents himself as facing the east.

Apennine. The plural would destroy the rhyme. These mountains are divided into four sections, the Ligurian, Etruscan, Roman, and Neapolitan Apennines. Monte Corno, the highest, is 9,521 feet.

106. **Bright.** A predicate adjective.

108. “The stage often borrows similes and metaphors from nature; here nature is made indebted to the stage.”—*Hales*.

109. **Between.** An adjective; a preposition if you supply “the trees.”

110. **Venerable.** Italy and other classic lands are famous for ancient temples.

111. Cf. Virgil, *Georgic* II, 136–176; Addison’s *Letter from Italy*; Rogers’ *Italy*; Byron’s *Childe Harold*, Canto IV.

Could. The subjunctive. See Mason, par. 252.

112. **Were.** Subjunctive.

113. **Whatever, &c.** A noun proposition forming, with the similar clauses in 115 and 117, the subject of "own" in 119.

Climes. For countries by *metonymy*.

114. Among the fruits of Italy may be mentioned the orange, lemon, olive, pomegranate, date, grape, chestnut, mulberry, apple, pear, apricot, &c.

115. **Blooms.** Blossoms.

116. **Whose.** This possessive is seldom used except in poetry.

117. **Sweets.** Perfumes.

118. **Vernal lives.** Short as the spring (*L. ver*).

119. **Own.** Acknowledge. For derivation see Mason, par. 244.

Kindrid. An example of *prolepsis*, a figure where the result is anticipated. Cf. "ear-erecting."

120. Cultivation becomes unnecessary.

121. **While.** Here as well as in 109 "while" introduces a co-ordinate proposition.

Gelid. *L. gelidus*, cold. The word is scarcely naturalized in English.

122. **Winnow.** Diffuse.

123. **Sense.** The senses.

124. **Sensual.** That conferred through the senses.

125. **Florid.** With profusion of flowers.

Grove. Akin to grave (*L. grafan*, to dig).

126. Man only degenerates.

127. **Contrasted.** Poverty with luxury; submission with vanity; gravity with frivolity; zeal with deceit.

Manners. In the sense of the *l. mores*. Cf. Wordsworth: "And give us *manners*, virtue, freedom, power."

129. **Zealous.** Enthusiastic.

131. **Contaminate.** *L. contamen*, from *con* and *tango*.

132. The habits of luxury learnt in opulence continue to be indulged in poverty.

133. **Was** Taken emphatically.

Date. Towards the close of the 15th century Venice, Florence, Genoa, and Pisa flourished.

136. **Long-fallen.** Since the old Roman days.

137. **Canvas.** Fr. *canavas*, *L. cannabis*, hemp. Among Italy's most famous painters were Leonardi da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian. The warmth of Titian's colouring was notable.

Warm. Qualifies "canvas."

138. "The poet alludes to the idea that in the unhewn block of marble the figure to be carved out of it lies, and that it becomes visible when the superfluous stone is removed."—*Stevens and Morris*.

139. "Two of the main causes, certainly, of the decay of Italian commerce were the discovery of America, and that of the sea-route to India."—*Hales*.

Southern gale. The Sirocco, blowing from the deserts of Africa, and the most changeable of Italian winds.

140. *etonymy*.

141. **Gave.** For "had given."

Riches. See *Mason*, par. 60.

142. **Unmanned.** Depopulated.

143. **Skill.** Knowledge.

144. **Plethoric.** Alluding to the man who is diseased from a superabundance (Gr. *plethore*) of blood in his veins. Cf. *D. T.* 389-394.

145. **Wrecks.** The present condition of Art is considered a mere wreck of what it was once.

147. **Fallen.** Depraved.

148. Inferior works of art satisfy.

150. **Pasteboard triumph.** "In old Roman times, grand processions or 'triumphs' were decreed to victorious generals as a mark of honour. The poet speaks of *bloodless pomp* because no blood has been shed, and no wounded prisoners are seen in the processions now. The *pasteboard triumph* refers to the decorations, and pasteboard imitations of trophies, used in the processions of the Carnival season at Rome. Pasteboard was originally made by *pasting* various thicknesses of paper together. The Carnival (*Il caro, carnis*, flesh; *vale*, farewell) is held just before Lent, during which season flesh is not eaten by devout Roman Catholics. *Pasteboard triumph*, however, may mean merely a *sham* one. **Cavalcade.** a procession on horseback, perhaps referring to the races of horses without riders held in the Corso at Rome during the Carnival."—*Stevens and Morris*.

151. **Processions.** What are the other nominatives to "may be seen"?

153. **Sports.** "Sir Joshua Reynolds calling upon the poet one day, opened the door without ceremony, and found him in the double occupation of turning a couplet, and teaching a pet dog to sit upon his haunches. At one time he would glance his eye at his desk, and at another shake his finger at the dog to make him retain his position. These lines form the couplet, and were still wet. Goldsmith, with his usual good humour, joined in the laugh caused by his whimsical employment, and acknowledged that his boyish sport with the dog suggested the thought."—Irving's *Life of Goldsmith*.

155. **Represt.** A noble and ambitious spirit is represented as losing its energy by long subjection.

156. **Guns.** Alluding to a garrison manned with troops, or a ship with sailors.

157. **Fast.** = closely.

159. **Domes.** L. *domus*, a house; here, a palace; usually meaning a copula.

Cæsars. Name the twelve Cæsars.

161. **There.** Notice the three adverbial complements of place to "builds."

164. **With a smile.** That anyone should build so large a palace.

165. **Turn.** Subjunctive.

Survey. Fr. *surveoir*, L. *super* and *video*.

167. **Bleak.** Transferred from the country to its inhabitants. This word now means cold, but formerly it meant pale. It is akin to *bleach*.

Mansion. L. *maneo*, to remain; hence, a house. Here it is used for the country.

168. Rolfe says, "The line forcibly expresses the labour required to bring, as it were, from the soil, its scanty produce."

Charlish. See note to l. 3. The word is generally applied to persons.

170. "One might infer at first that the poet meant that Switzerland furnished iron as well as mercenary soldiers: but there are no iron mines in the country. It had furnished the soldiers from the 15th century."—*Rolfe*. Cf. *Hamlet*, iv. 5, and *Lady of the Lake*, vi. 3.

171. **Torpid.** Lifeless (L. *torpeo*).

172. On account of the higher latitude and greater elevation, the winter lingers longer than in Italy.

173. **Zephyr.** A soft west wind.

174. **Meteors.** Gr. *metecora*, things in the air. Here the reference is to the lightning.

176. **Redress.** Make amends for.

179. **Contiguous.** L. *con* and *tango*.

181. **Costly.** Sumptuous or costly to the peasant.

Banquet. Fr. *banquet*. It is probably derived from the German *bank*. Cf. "bench."

182. **Meal.** Notice the *antithesis*.

183. **Calm.** Free from avarice. It qualifies "him."

184. The line may thus be arranged: "He, contracting each wish, fits himself to the soil."

185. **Cheerful.** A predicate adjective.

186. "It is enough," says Black, "to make the angels weep to find such a couplet as this,—

'Cheerful at morn, he wakes from short repose,

Breasts the keen air, and carols as he goes,'

murdered in several editions of Goldsmith's works by the substitution of the commonplace 'breathes' for 'breasts'—and that after Johnson had drawn particular attention to the line by quoting it in his Dictionary."

187. **Patient Angle.** It is the *angler* that is patient.

Trolls. Akin to "roll," "drill," &c., and derived from the German *trollen*. The construction is a forced one, as it is not the *deep* but the *line* which is trolled.

Finny deep. Cf. "patient angle," "venturous ploughshare," and "warbling grove" in *D. V.* 361.

188. **Ploughshare.** *Share*, from O. E. *scearan*. Cf. "sheer," "share," "shire," "short."

190. **Savage.** Fr. *Sauvage*, L. *silva*, a wood, and hence originally an inhabitant of the forest. Cf. Pope, *Iliad*:

"When the grim *savage*, to his rifled den

Too late returning, snuffs the track of men."

191. **Sped.** "Accomplished. The verb *speed*, in this sense, means simply to carry through successfully, with no special reference to quickness,"—*Rolfe*. Cf. "I wish you good *speed*;" "More haste, worse *speed*."

193. **Cf.** Burns' *Cotter's Saturday Night*, and Gray's *Elegy*, stanza 6.

195. **Hoard.** Of plates and dishes.

196. **Cleanly.** Pronounced short when an adjective.

197. **Haply.** Perchance.

198. **Many a.** Many grammarians regard *a* in such an expression as this as a corruption for *of*. It is more likely that the position of the adjectives in such phrases as "many a man," "such a person," "what a fine book," &c., has arisen from the practice in early English of giving emphasis in this way. Shakespeare has: "*a myny* of our bodies." *Many-a* is taken by some as a compound adjective in "*many a man*." Better to take *many* as an adverb modifying *a*, or as an adjective referring to "*a man*." See Mason's Grammar, par. 93, and Abbott's Shakespearean Grammar, par. 85.

Nightly. For the night. Notice the metre.

201. **Hills.** One of the earlier editions has "Hills."

202. **Enhance.** L. *ante*. Fr. *en avant*, forwards. Provençal *enansar*, to forward.

203. **Conforms.** Suits itself.

205. **As a child,** &c. An adverbial proposition forming a complement of degree to its correlative "so."

203. **Close and closer.** "Perhaps = closer and closer; but the former comparative inflection is omitted for euphony's, or for the metre's sake, just as one adverbial inflection is omitted in 'safe and nicely,' *King Lear*, v. iii.; 'fair and softly,' *John Gilpin*."—*Hales*.

207. **Charms.** Contentment (175); cheerfulness (185); freedom (183); out-door employments (187-189); independence (191); family pleasures (194); hospitality (197); patriotism (200).

210. **Confined.** Limited.

211. **Share.** "Not used very accurately. They obtain all and not a mere share of the praises that are really due them."

213. **Stimulates.** L. *stimulus*, a goad.

214. **Redrest.** Relieved.

215. **Hence.** "From this cause, viz.: that their pleasures consist in the redressing of their ordinary wants. Such lands, *i.e.* the *barren states* mentioned in 209. each pleasing science *dies*, viz.:—Music, painting, sculpture, which are properly arts,

not sciences, An *art* is that skill which is acquired by practice under certain rules. *Science* is properly the study of the various laws which govern the practice of an art. *Science* deals with principles, *art* with their application. Thus the study of the laws of harmony is a *science*, the practice of them on a musical instrument or with the voice is an *art*. A man may be proficient in the one, and yet know nothing of the other. The term *science* appears to be misapplied in the text.

‘I present you with a man,
Cunning in music and the mathematicks,
To instruct her fully in those sciences.’

—Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew*, ii. I.

Here *music* and *mathematics* may be considered as both arts and sciences.”—*Stevens and Morris*.

216. **Supplies.** Satisfies.

217. **Unknown.** A predicate adjective.

Cloy. To satiate. Cf. “clog,” “clot,” “cloy,” and “clown.”

218. **The languid pause.** “The period of weariness when the sensual pleasures, above alluded to, cease to give satisfaction, or when the body is too wearied to continue them.”

Finer joy. “The poet says above that *each pleasing science flies* from these lands, and, therefore, the people have no painting, sculpture, music, or learning to delight them when wearied with their *sensual pleasures*.”—*Stevens and Morris*.

221. **Level.** Unvaried, monotonous.

Smouldering. Burning slowly.

223. **Raptures.** Violent feelings of pleasure when the soul is raised to flame.

224. **Of once a year.** = of once in a year.

226. **Debauch.** Fr. *de*, from, and *bauche*, a row of bricks, and hence a deviation from a straight line.

Expre. The subjunctive by poetical license.

232. **Fall.** Used for “falls.” Probably the poet had in his mind the dart of *love* and the dart of *friendship*.

Indurated. Hardened.

233. **Sterner virtues.** Bravery, love of freedom, &c.

234. **May.** The sense requires emphasis on this word.

Falcons. L. *falx*, a sickle. The bird is so named from the shape of its bill.

234. **Cowering.** Brooding.

235. **Gentler morals.** The fine arts, politeness, &c.

237. **These.** The gentler morals.

238. **Kinder.** More suited to their kind, or perhaps used with its ordinary meaning.

241. **Sprightly.** From the same root (Fr. *esprit*) as spirit.

242. He illustrates this by mentioning his own success.

243. **Choir.** Gr. *choros*. Cf. the narrative of the "philosophic vagabond" in the *Vicar of Wakefield*: "I had some knowledge of music, with a tolerable voice; I now turned what was once my amusement into a present means of subsistence. I passed among the harmless peasants of Flanders, and among such of the French as were poor enough to be merry: for I ever found them sprightly in proportion to their wants. Whenever I approached a peasant's house, towards nightfall, I played one of my merriest tunes, and that procured me not only a lodging, but subsistence for the next day; but in truth I must own, whenever I attempted to entertain persons of a higher rank, they always thought my performance odious, and never made me any return for my endeavours to please them."

244. **Tuneless.** Explained in 247, 243.

Loire. Consult geography.

246. **Freshened.** A predicate adjective.

247. **Haply.** Modifies "would praise" and "would dance."

Faltering. L. *fallō*. His playing was not only very "harsh" but also attended with false notes.

249. **Village.** *Metonymy*.

251. **Alike all ages.** Persons of all ages were alike fond of the amusement.

Dames. L. *domina*, the mistress of a house.

252. **Maze.** "A word of uncertain derivation: perhaps akin to 'miss.' As a description of a dance, the word is common enough."—*Sankey*.

253. **Gestic lore.** Skill in dancing. Gestic is cognate with "gesture," jest (originally gest).

256. **Idly busy.** *Oxymoron*. Cf. *festina lente*, Horace "Strenua nos exercet inertia," and Pope's *Elegy on an Unfortunate Lady*:

"Life's idle business at one gasp be o'er."

256. **World.** Cf. *Hamlet*: "Thus runs the *world* away."

257. **Theirs, &c.** Their arts, &c.

258. **Honour.** The outward distinction.

261. **Current.** In allusion to money passing from one to another.

262. **Traffic.** L. *trans* and *facio*. The *traffic* is called *splendid* in allusion to the wealth and magnificence which it brings.

263. Kings and courtiers and soldiers receive the outward distinction.

264. Cf. Horace: "Preter laudem nullus avarus."

265. "They exert themselves to please others, and are pleased at the success of their efforts, so winning the esteem and good opinion of society; hence they seem to themselves happy. And what more is required for them to be so, except the continuance of this till it becomes habitual?"—*Sankey*.

267. **Softer art.** The art of pleasing.

270. "The influence which France was soon to have, and was even then beginning to acquire, over the thought of Europe, seems not to have been foreseen by Goldsmith. He is as unconscious as Johnson was of the existence of D'Alembert, Diderot, and Beaumarchais."—*Sankey*.

272. The praise of others is sought after instead of an approving conscience.

273. **Ostentation.** *Personification*.

Tawdry. Shabbily splendid. The word is said to be a corruption of St. Audrey (St. Ethelreda). At the fair of St. Audrey at Ely in former times toys of all sorts, especially laces, were sold.

275. **Pert.** **Sprightly.** Now used in a bad sense and meaning impudent.

Grimace. Fr. *grimace*.

276. **Frieze.** Fr. *frise*. A kind of coarse woollen cloth, much worn in Ireland.

Copper lace. In imitation of the gold or silver lace worn by persons of fashion.

277. **Cheer.** Fare.

278. **Boast.** Used transitively.

Banquet. Supply "given."

278. **Once a year.** See Mason, par. 123.

280. **Self-applause.** The approval of conscience.

282. **Holland.** Probably derived from *ollant*, marshy ground, or from Ger. *hohl*, the hollow land. Cf. "hole."

283. **Methinks.** See Mason 247.

284. Cf. Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis* :

"And view the ocean leaning on the sky."

285. **Sedulous.** Assiduous (from L. *sedeo*).

"This character of the Dutch is well evinced by their present plan (1876) of recovering the Zuyder Zee, which was formerly a fertile and populous plain, but was overflowed by the sea in 1421, when seventy-two villages and towns were destroyed, and 100,000 people perished. They purpose to do this by building huge dykes and pumping out the water, as they have already done with respect to the Lake of Haarlem. They will thus recover about 2,000 square miles of territory."—*Stevens and Morris*.

286. **Rampire.** The same as "rampart."

287. **Diligently slow.** *Oxymoron*. Their work requires a large amount of persevering toil.

288. **Bulwark.** "Properly 'a defensive work made with the boles or trunks of trees.' Ger. *bollwerk*, Fr. *boulevard*. The Helder dyke is perhaps the best instance. Nearly two leagues long, it is forty feet broad at the top, where is an excellent road; and it descends into the sea by a slope of 200 feet, at an angle of forty degrees. Huge buttresses project at certain intervals several hundred yards into the sea. It is built entirely of huge blocks of granite from Norway."—*Sankey*.

290. "There is some poetical exaggeration here, though the Dutch have rescued large tracts of land from the sea. The case is analogous to that of the River Thames at London, where a large quantity of land has been thus rescued by means of the Thames Embankments."—*Stevens and Morris*.

292. **Amphibious.** Gr. *amphi* and *bios*.

293. **Canal.** L. *Canna*, a reed. Holland is famous for its numerous canals.

294. **Willow-tufted bank.** The dykes and margins of the canals are planted with willows.

Sail. *Synecdoche*.

295. **Mart.** A contraction of "market." Cf. Fr. *marché*. At

this time Holland held a foremost place in the commerce of the world.

Cultivated plain. Alluding to the highly cultivated state of Holland.

296. **Creation.** In apposition to "canal," "vale," &c., which are in apposition to "world."

297. **Wave-subjected.** "Lying below the level of the waves; or, perhaps, as some explain it, 'exposed to the inroads of the waves.'"—*Rolfe*.

302. In the *D. V.* the author deals with those evils.

303. **Are.** Can the plural be justified? See 232.

305. **Craft.** Give different meanings.

305-6. "These lines refer to the political struggles which long disturbed the Netherlands. The Republican party received assistance from France, to the amount of more than a million of money, and though the House of Orange triumphed in 1747, it held its sway with difficulty."—*Stevens and Morris*.

Cf. *V. of W.*, ch. xix.: "Now the possessor of accumulated wealth, when furnished with the necessities and pleasures of life, has no other method to employ the superfluity of his fortune but in purchasing power, by purchasing the liberty of the needy or the venal, of men who are willing to bear the mortification of contiguous tyranny for bread."

309. This line occurs verbatim in the *Citizen of the World*, i.: "A nation once famous for setting the world an example of freedom is now become a land of tyrants and a den of slaves." (Aldine edition.)

311. **Calmly bent.** Disposed for peace.

312. Owing to their shallowness and comparatively small size the lakes of Holland, of which the principal are Yesselmonde, Salt, Lange, and Tjeuke, are not much affected by storms.

313. **Belgic.** Belgica, the country of the Belgæ, occupied during the Roman period a part of what is now France and Holland. The tribe which was settled nearest Holland was the Batavi.

Sires. *Fr. sire*, from *seigneur*, *L. senex*.

315. **Each breast.** Of the "Belgic sires."

316. **Sons of Britain.** "The poet compares the descendants of the Belgæ with those of the Ancient Britons, because the lat-

ter, who were Gauls or Celts, were similar in character to the Belgæ. The present 'sons of Britain' are, however, rather Saxon than Celtic, though some of the latter race are found among the Highlanders of Scotland, and in Wales."—*Stevens and Morris*.

Now. "In the 16th century they had fought stoutly against the same domineering enemy as England had withstood; in the 17th they had contested with England the queenship of the seas. But perhaps Goldsmith here refers to the fact that the Dutch are our nearest kinsmen. They belong to the same Low German race as ourselves. Their language and our own resemble each other very closely."—*Hales*.

317. Genius. Plural *geniuses*. The word is here used instead of Muse (L. *musæ*, and hence feminine). *Genius*, a spirit, has plural *genii*.

318. Britain is favourably situated for receiving the benefit of the warm winds blowing from the west, which causes early spring.

319. Lawns. Originally meant *land*. See *D. V.* 35.

"Before the time of Virgil, Arcadia was more celebrated for 'pastoral dulness than pastoral ideality,' as the proverbial expressions 'Arcadici sensus,' 'Arcadiceæ aures' (cf. Juvenal, vii. 160) sufficiently show. They were a strong and hardy, but rude and savage race, in spite of the law, mentioned by Polybius, an Arcadian himself, which made the study of music compulsory. Since the days of Virgil (cf. *Eclogues*, vii. 4; x. 30), and especially since the revival of learning, Arcadia has become the golden land of poets and romance-writers. Who wrote the 'Arcadia'? When?"—*Sankey*.

320. Hydaspes. "One of the tributaries of the Indus, now known as the Jelum, or Jhelum. Its Sanscrit name was Vitastâ, of which Hydaspes is a corruption. Horace (*Od.* i. 22, 8,) calls it 'fabulosus,' from the marvellous tales connected with it."—*Rolfe*.

321. All. An adverb modifying "around."

322. Birds sing on every branch. Cf. Chaucer:

"The wood dove upon the *spray*,
He sang full loud and clear."

Dryden:

"The painted birds, companions of the spring,
Hopping from *spray* to *spray*, were heard to sing."

and Pope:

“The strains decay and *melt* away,
In a dying, dying fall.”

323. The natural beauties of England are on a smaller scale and therefore without the grandeur possessed by other lands.

324. Rolfe understands this line to mean “that extremes of climate are known there only in imagination.” Others regard the extremes as “minds combating minds, ferments, factions, and ambition struggling round her shore.”

325. “Reason is mistress of their thoughts and actions; in contrast with the character of the French nation.”

Stern. An adverb modifying “holds,” or an adjective qualifying “state” (power).

326. “This line is somewhat obscure; for the adj. *great* may qualify *reason*, *state*, or *aims*. But whichever it be, the meaning probably is that some of the objects aimed at are great on account of the benefits they will confer on the nation and individuals, whilst others are great on account of their injustice. It may, however, simply mean that some aims are greater than others. But the word *daring* inclines one to the former interpretation.”—*Stevens and Morris*.

327. **Port.** Bearing (L. *porto*, I carry). Port, an entrance, is from *porta*, a gate, and *port*, a kind of wine from *Oporto*.

Defiance. This and “pride” are nominatives absolute.

330. Cf. Tennyson, *Locksley Hall*, “Cursed be the sickly forms that err from honest nature’s rule.”

332. **Imagined right.** What he believes to be his right.

333. What kind of propositions in this and the next line?

Boasts. “Boasts that he scans these rights, that he takes his part in the discussion of public questions.”—*Hales*.

Scan. L. *scando*, I climb. So “to count the feet in a verse” and to examine closely.

334. **As.** As an example of redundancy cf. “of” in the expression “City of Toronto.”

335. **Thine.** &c. “In thus putting forward freedom as the main point of contrast between England and foreign nations, the poet is following Addison in his *Letter written from Italy to Lord Halifax* :

‘Oh, Liberty, thou goddess heavenly bright,
Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight,

* * * * *

Thee, goddess, thee Britannia's Isle adores.'

But the courtly placeman does not impress on us the evils of freedom as vividly as the dissatisfied poet."—*Sankey*.

337. **Were.** For the use of the subjunctive see Mason, pars. 427--442.

Alloy. Fr. *à loi* = according to law, the proportions being fixed by law.

340. "Each, considering himself independent of the other, takes no trouble to please him, and consequently there is an absence of those kindly feelings between them which the giving and receiving of pleasure promotes."—*Stevens and Morris*.

341. **Lordings.** Give a list of affixes forming diminutives.

342. There is of course much exaggeration in this statement.

343. In the struggle for political power family and social ties are disregarded.

345. **Ferments.** Political agitations. Probably the poet alludes to the disturbances occasioned by the imprisonment of Wilkes. This was an age of faction contests and frequent changes of government. William Pitt, Lord Bute, Grenville, and the Marquis of Rockingham had, each in turn, a hand in directing the affairs of state.

343. **Ambition.** L. *ambi*, about, and *eo, itum*, to go. Originally among the Romans the word meant "a going up and down the city asking for votes."

Round her shore. Probably the reference is to Wilkes, who, with France as a basis of operations, was agitating the country.

347. **System.** Society in general.

348. **Frenzy.** Madness.

Fire. Infinitive.

Wheels. Alluding to the machinery of government.

351. **Fictitious.** Artificial ties take the place of those of nature.

354. **Synecdoche.**

356. **Nurse of arms.** Famous for its warriors.

357. **Stems.** Families.

358. **Have toiled.** For fame.

Wrote. Have written.

For fame. Instead of writing for bread as the poet hints was the case in his own day.

359. **Shall lie.** What are the nominatives?

360. These forebodings have not yet been realized.

362. **The great.** "This was a very favourite phrase about Goldsmith's time."—*Hales*.

363. Cf. Pope:

"Why bade ye else, ye powers, her soul aspire
Beyond the vulgar flights of low desire."

365. Apostrophes to liberty were common with literary men of the last century.

366. **Rabble.** Akin to *L. rabies*, madness.

Angry steel. *Metonymy*. The poet considers it difficult to tell whether freedom suffers more at the hands of demagogues (such as Wilkes) or from the conduct of arbitrary rulers.

369. **Blooms.** Cf. 115.

370. **Repress.** Keep in check. The poet means that he would keep the blooms of the transitory flower, Freedom, in check only to keep them safe.

372. Cf. Thompson, *Summer*:

"While thus laborious crowds
Ply the tough oar, philosophy directs
The ruling helm."

374. So that thinkers and toilers may have their due share.

375. **Order.** Class in the country.

376. **Below.** An adjective.

378. **It.** The real object of the verb is "when a part aspires."

379. **Nor.** And not.

380. **Except.** A preposition. See Mason, par. 232.

Warms. Notice the defective rhyme.

381. In the preface to the *History of England*, G. says:

"It is not yet decided in politics whether the diminution of kingly power in England tends to increase the happiness or freedom of the people. For my own part, from seeing the bad effects of the tyranny of the great in those republican states that pretend to be free, I cannot help wishing that our monarchs may still be allowed to enjoy the power of controlling the encroachments of the great at home."

Cf. *V. of W.*, ch. xix. :

"It is the interest of the great to diminish kingly power as much as possible."

383. **Factions band.** A number of persons banded together for personal instead of patriotic interests.

385. **Wanton.** Unrestrained. Cf. Addison :

"How does your tongue grow *wanton* in her praise."

386. Cf. *Vicar of Wakefield* :

"What they (the middle classes in the state) may then expect may be seen by turning our eyes to Holland, Genoa, or Venice, where *the laws govern the poor, and the rich govern the laws.*"

388. **Pillage.** *L. pilo.* to plunder.

391. Impelled by mingled feelings of patriotism and fear of evils threatening the state, the poet thinks the only hope is in the sovereign.

Half. An adjective qualifying "a patriot."

Coward. *L. cauda*, a tail, and hence one who "turns tail" on his enemies.

Tyrants. *Gr. turannos.* Account for its present meaning.

394. "In all ages the worst foes to monarchical power have been the aristocracy. Thus in Greece the early tyrannies were almost universally overthrown by oligarchies. Cf. the barons' wars in English history, and the attitude of the crown towards the nobles in France."—*Sankey*.

395. The sovereign is represented as the fountain of honour, or as Blackstone puts it: "All degrees of nobility and honour are derived from the king, as their fountain."

396. **Double force.** Being unrestrained.

397. Cf. *D. V.* 49--56.

398. **Exchanged.** By emigration.

399. **Triumphs.** What triumphs? .

403. Cf. *D. V.* 65, 66 :

"Along the lawn, where scatter'd hamlets rose,
Unwieldily wealth and cumbrous pomp repose."

405. Cf. *D. V.* 275--282 :

"The man of wealth and pride
Takes up a place that many poor supplied—
Space for his lake, his park's extended bounds,

Space for his horses, equipage and hounds ;
 The robe that wraps his limbs in silken sloth,
 Has robb'd the neighbouring fields of half their growth ;
 His seat, where solitary sports are seen,
 Indignant spurns the cottage from the green."

406. **Frequented.** *L. frequens*, crowded.

407. See *D. V.* 362--384.

409. Cf. *D. V.* 401--2 :

"Downward they move, a melancholy band,
 Pass from the shore, and darken all the strand."

410. **Main.** As an adjective the word is frequently compounded with nouns.

411. **Oswego.** The river is meant.

412. **Niagara.** Here accented on the third syllable.

413. **Now.** Qualifies "casts."

414. Cf. *D. V.* 349--355. See also *Animated Nature* : "Where man in his savage state owns inferior strength, and the beasts claim divided dominion."

417. **Giddy tempest.** Cf. "patient angle" and "venturous ploughshare."

418. **Yells.** *Onomatopœia*.

419. **Pensive.** *L. penso*, I weigh.

Wo. The noun is usually spelt *woe*.

420. "In the year 1783, he, at my request, marked with a pencil the lines which he had furnished, which are only line 420 and the concluding ten lines, except the last couplet but one. He added, 'these are all of which I can be sure.' They bear a small proportion to the whole."—BOSWELL'S *Life of Johnson*, ch. xix.

424. Cf. Dryden :

"Our hopes must *centre* in ourselves alone"

What does *only* modify ?

426. Cf. Pope, *Essay on Man* :

"For forms of government let fools contest :

Whate'er is best administer'd is best."

427. **Terrors reign.** Had Goldsmith lived till 1789 he would have learned something about the Reign of Terror of the French Revolution.

430. "The poet means that the sufferings of the human heart

are produced almost entirely by causes with which kings and laws have nothing to do, and cannot remedy; such, for instance, as ingratitude of children, sickness, bereavement, death, &c.”—*Stevens and Morris*.

431. **Still.** Always.

Cf. Milton, *P. L.* i. 254:

‘ The mind is its own place, and in itself,
Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven.”

435. **Wheel.** “Breaking on the wheel. This barbarous mode of death is of great antiquity. It was used for the punishment of great criminals, such as assassins and parricides, first in Germany. It was also used in the Inquisition, and rarely anywhere else, till Francis I. ordered it to be inflicted upon robbers, first reaking their bones by strokes with a heavy iron club, and then leaving them to expire on the wheel.”—HAYDN, *Dict. of Dates*.

436. “Goldsmith himself was in a mistake. In the *Respublica Hungarica* there is an account of a desperate rebellion in the year 1514, headed by two brothers of the name of Zeck. George and Luke. When it was quelled, *G*orge, not *L*uke, was punished by his head being encircled with a red-hot iron crown. ‘coronâ candescente ferreâ coronatur.”—BOSWELL, *Life of Dr. Johnson*, ch. xix.

The name of the leaders of this peasant revolt was Dosa, not Zeck; and George Dosa was punished by being seated on a red-hot iron throne, with red-hot crown and sceptre; his veins were then opened, and he had to drink a glass of his own blood. He was then torn to pieces, and roasted; and his flesh was given as food to his principal supporters, who had been purposely famished.”—*Biographie Universelle*.

Damiens. “On January 5th, 1757, Damiens stabbed Louis XV. in his right side, as he was getting into his carriage at Versailles. Though the wound was very slight, and Damiens insisted that his intention was not to kill the king, but to frighten him and give him a warning, he was most barbarously tortured, and at the end of March was executed. His right hand was burnt off, his arms and legs torn with red-hot pincers, and melted lead, boiling oil, wax, resin, &c., poured into the wounds; and finally four horses were half an hour in pulling him limb from limb.”—*Sankey*.

LIFE OF THOMAS GRAY.

Birth, 1716. Thomas Gray was born in Cornhill, London, on the 26th of December, 1716. Of his ancestry little is known. His father, Philip Gray, an exchange broker and money-scrivener, was a wealthy and nominally respectable citizen, but a man of harsh and violent disposition. The poet's mother, whose maiden name was Atrobus, unable to endure the brutal severity and neglect of her husband, separated from him, and in conjunction with her sister kept a millinery shop. It was altogether to her affectionate care and industry that the son was indebted for the advantages of a learned education. Home life was rendered miserable by the cruelties of the father, and it seems the boy's uncle, Robert Atrobus, took him away to his own house, where while yet a child he received the rudiments of his education. The painful domestic circumstances of his early life gave a tinge of melancholy and pensive reflection to Gray, which is visible in his poetry.

At Eton, 1727. His father having absolutely refused to educate him, he was sent to Eton about 1727, at the expense of his mother. Here, under the protection of his maternal uncle, who was an assistant master at the school, he exhibited much ability as a scholar and won the esteem of his fellow-students. He made the friendship of Horace Walpole, son of the prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole. Richard West, the amiable and gentle

son of the Chancellor of Ireland, became his intimate associate. A third acquaintance was Thomas Ashton, who soon slips out of our history, but who survived until 1775. The four boys formed a "quadruple alliance" of the warmest friendship. Besides this "inner circle" there was an "outer ring" of Eton friends, whose names have been preserved in connection with Gray's. Amongst them was George Montagu, a relative of the great Earl of Halifax, and Jacob Bryant, the antiquary, whose place in class was next Gray's through one term. He was naturally drawn by temperament to study, and it is generally believed that at Eton he made his first effort at verse. Shy and studious, and already a scholar and a moralist, we can well understand he was not the youth to gain popularity amongst a great many of the students of that time.

At Cambridge, 1734. In this year the quadruple alliance broke up. Gray proceeded to Cambridge, where he was for a short time a pensioner of Pembroke Hall, but afterwards went over, as a fellow commoner, to Peterhouse, the college of his uncle Atrebus. Walpole, after spending the winter in London, entered King's College, Cambridge. Ashton also attended Cambridge, but West was isolated from his friends by being sent to Oxford. Life at college was not joyous to Gray. The dulness of Cambridge lay with a leaden weight on his nerves and energies. In his letters written at the time he complains of melancholy and the lack of congenial employment. From 1734 to 1738 he wrote a *Copy of Latin Verses*, inserted in the "*Musæ Etonensis*," verses *On the Marriage of the Prince of Wales*, a *Saphic Ode to West*, and some translations.

The Grand Tour, 1739. With an excellent knowledge of classics, which he loved, but with scarcely any

acquaintance with mathematics, which he detested, Gray left college in 1728. In the spring of the following year he was invited by Horace Walpole to accompany him as travelling companion in a tour through France and Italy. They went from Paris to Rheims, where they remained three months; thence to Lyons, Geneva, Turin, and Florence, where they remained the winter. The poet's observations on arts and antiquities and his sketches of foreign manners evince his admiration, taste, and discrimination. "In their journey through Dauphiny, Gray's attention was strongly arrested by the wild and picturesque site of the Grande Chartreuse, surrounded by its dense forest of beech and fir, its enormous precipices, cliffs, and cascades. He visited it a second time on his return, and in the album of the mountain convent he wrote his famous *Alcaic Ode*." Naples was visited, and the ruins of the recently disinterred Herculaneum. From Naples he sent his poem on the *Gaurus* to West. There the friends remained eleven months, and during that time Gray commenced his Latin poem *De Principiis Cogitandi*. Bologna was visited, and Reggio. At the latter place the companions quarrelled and parted. The cause of the quarrel is uncertain. Walpole took the blame on himself. He wrote: "The quarrel between Gray and me arose from his being too serious a companion. I had just broke loose from the restraint of the University, with as much money as I could spend, and I was willing to indulge myself. Gray was for antiquities, &c., while I was for perpetual balls and plays: the fault was mine." The immediate cause of the rupture is said to have been Walpole's clandestinely opening, reading, and resealing a letter addressed to Gray. A reconciliation was effected about three years afterwards, and Walpole redeemed his youthful error by showing ever after a sincere admiration

and respect for his friend. Parting thus from his companion, the poet went to Venice, and returned homewards through Padua and Milan, only diverging from his path to visit the Grande Chartreuse.

Settles at Cambridge. Gray arrived in England in September, 1741, and in November his father died. His mother's fortune was small. With her unmarried sister she went to live with another sister, Mrs. Rogers, at Stoke, near Windsor. The poet not having sufficient means to prosecute the study of law went back to Cambridge. While there he took his Bachelor's degree in Civil Law, but his time was almost entirely given up to literature. With the exception of two years' residence in London, where the treasures of the British Museum were thrown open to him, he spent the remainder of his life at Cambridge, constantly poring over the rich volumes of its noble libraries. He pursued with critical attention the Greek and Roman poets, philosophers, historians, and orators. Plato was read and annotated with great care, parts of Propertius translated, and Petrarch industriously studied. He added notes to Linnæus and other naturalists, wrote geographical disquisitions on Strabo, became familiar with French and Italian literature, and was a zealous student of archæology, architecture, botany, music, and painting. Mathematics was the only department of learning of which he was not master.

A prolific year, 1742. Gray's first original production in English verse was a fragment of the tragedy of *Agrippina*. The opening scene was sent to his friend West, who gave it a cool reception, and with a frankness and a critical sagacity slew the ill-starred play on the spot. Gray warmly defended the style of his production, but never made it complete. During the early part of the summer he wrote the *Ode to Spring* at Stoke, where, with

his mother and aunts, the poet was wont to spend a great portion of the year. It was sent to the same critic, but West had died before the poem was received. To the end of his life he seemed to feel in the death of West "the affliction of a recent loss." "We are not surprised to find," says Gosse, "the *Ode to Spring*, which belongs to a previous condition of things, lighter in tone, colder in sentiment, and more trivial in conception than his other serious productions." Although this poem no longer forms a favourite part of Gray's poetical works, its form at the time gave it considerable significance. It was the first note of protest against the hard versification which reigned during the Augustan age. In the month of August was written the *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College*. "The *Eton Ode* was inspired by the regret that the illusions of boyhood, the innocence that comes not of virtue but of inexperience, the sweetness born not of a good heart but of a good digestion, the elation which childish sports give, and which owes nothing to anger or dissipation, that these simple qualities cannot be preserved through life." In the same month was composed the *Hymn to Adversity*, which indicates that stateliness of movement and pomp of allegorical illustration which characterizes his mature style. The *Elegy* was also commenced and an affectionate sonnet on the death of Richard West was written this year. In December he wrote a satire, the *Hymn to Ignorance*, to ridicule the University, which he thought gave too much attention to mathematics and metaphysics. After this he entirely disappears from us for a couple of years, a few legends pertaining to his studies and schemes of literary work being the only glimpses that have appeared.

First poem published, 1747. The unfortunate difference with Horace Walpole came to a close in 1744.

After a reconciliation had taken place he wrote, at Walpole's request, an ode on the death of his old friend's favourite cat. In 1747 he made the acquaintance of Mr. Mason, to whom we are indebted for many of the particulars of the poet's life. In that year Walpole persuaded him to allow Dodsley to print the *Eton Ode*, and it accordingly appeared anonymously as a thin folio pamphlet. About the same time he began a didactic poem, *On the Alliance of Education and Government*, but wrote only a mere fragment. The hundred and ten lines to which it extends show that the author had high talents for the construction of a philosophical work. It attracted the warm enthusiasm of Gibbon, and Dr. Wharton considered it would not have been inferior to Pope's *Essay on Man*, had it been finished. He told Mason that Montesquieu's *L'esprit des Loix*, which was published while he was pursuing his plan, had forestalled some of his best thoughts and caused his interest in his own scheme to languish.

Elegy published, 1751. The death of his aunt Mary Atrobus occurred in 1749. Gray returned to Stoke to console his mother, who felt very keenly the loss of her sister. The event seems to have brought to the poet's recollection the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, begun seven years before within sight of the ivy-clustered spire under whose shadow his aunt was laid. A portion had been written at Cambridge. Now he finished it, as he begun it, at Stoke-Pogis, giving the last touches to it on the 12th of June, 1750. He sent it to Walpole, who was delighted with it, and who showed it to a large circle of friends. At the Manor House at Stoke, Lady Cobham, who appears to have known Walpole, read the *Elegy* in manuscript, and in return for her hospitality Gray was induced to write the *Long Story*. The poem is "charmingly arch and easy in its humourous romance," but seems un-

becoming the author, and although included in the semi-private issue of the *Six Poems* in 1753, it was given to the public in no published collection during his life.

The death of his mother, 1753. In January, 1753, Gray was suddenly called from Cambridge to Stoke by the news of his mother's illness. After a painful struggle she expired on the 11th March, at the age of sixty-seven. There may still be read the exquisitely simple and affecting epitaph which he inscribed on her tombstone: "In the same pious confidence, beside her friend and sister, here sleep the remains of Dorothy Gray, widow, the careful, tender mother of many children, one of whom alone had the misfortune to survive her." To the next year belongs the *Ode on Vicissitude*, an unfinished poem, which was found after his death in his pocket-book. About the same time he wrote a treatise entitled *Architectura Gothica*, in which he shows a taste for architecture quite in advance of his time. In 1756 he left Peterhouse and took up his residence at Pembroke. Being a more than ordinary fastidious person, he became while at the former place the subject of many practical jokes inflicted by riotous undergraduates. One of them was a false alarm of fire, by which he was obliged to descend from his window to the ground by a rope which allowed him to drop into a tub of water. The complaints made to the authorities had little effect. The result was his return to Pembroke, where he remained the rest of his life, comfortably lodged, and surrounded by congenial friends, but more and more shut out from the world.

The Pindaric Odes. The first stage of Gray's poetical development was marked by the short poems he wrote for his contemporaries. The *Elegy*, written for all the world, designates the second. In the third and final stage he wrote for the poets the *Pindaric Odes*. The first of these

was the *Ode on the Progress of Poetry*, and was written in 1755. In the same year the second, *The Bard*, was begun. They were published in 1757, and were but coldly received. Walpole says, "The cavils of Mason almost induced him to destroy his two beautiful and sublime odes," and in a letter also remarks: "I send you two copies of a very honourable opening of my press—two amazing odes of Mr. Gray. They are Greeks, they are Pindaric, they are sublime, consequently, I fear, a little obscure; the second particularly, by the confinement of the measure and the nature of prophetic vision, is mysterious. I could not persuade him to add more notes." The mysterious character of both poems was felt so much that two parodies, entitled *Odes to Obscurity and Oblivion*, were published and had a large sale. Both poems have, however, taken a permanent place among English classics. Their artificiality is manifest, but the language in many parts is graceful and vigorous. In the former is shown the progress of Poesy from the early days of classic Greece to its high achievements in Britain under Shakespeare, Milton, and Dryden. The *Bard* has for its subject "the terrific malison of a Welsh bard, escaped from the massacre of Conway, who, standing on an inaccessible crag, prophesies the doom of the Norman line of kings, and the glories of the Tudors.'

Offered the Laureateship, 1757. Gray's name now ranked so high that on the death of Cibber he was offered the laureateship, which he wisely declined. He gave the reason for his rejection of it in a letter to Mason. "The office itself," he said, "has always humbled the possessor hitherto; if he were a poor writer, by making him more conspicuous; and if he were a good one, by setting him at war with the little fry of his own profession—for there are poets little enough even to envy a poet laureate." He was one of the first to take advantage of the British Museum

Library, which was opened in 1759. He was ambitious to obtain the congenial and dignified appointment of Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, which fell vacant in 1762. By the advice of friends Gray made application for it to Lord Bute, but was unsuccessful. In 1765 he took a journey into Scotland and made the acquaintance of Dr. Beattie, of whom he speaks very warmly in his letters. He penetrated as far north as Dunkeld and the Pass of Killiecrankie, and the account of his tour which he gives in letters to his friends "is replete with interest and with touches of his peculiar humour and graphic description."

Appointed Professor, 1768. In this year the professorship of Modern History became again vacant, and the Duke of Grafton bestowed it, unsolicited, on Gray. This kindness gave birth to the *Installation Ode* the following summer, on the occasion of the Duke's election to the Chancellorship of the University. After the ceremony of installation was over the poet-professor, now in ill-health, went on a tour to the lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and few of the beauties of the lake-country escaped his observation. He kept a lively journal of this tour for the amusement of his friend Dr. Wharton, who accompanied him the first day but was obliged to return because of sickness. In 1770 he wrote from Cambridge to Dr. Beattie complaining of declining health, and sent him some criticisms on the first book of *The Minstrel*, which had just been published. Shortly afterwards he made a journey to Wales but left no account of his visit.

Death, 1771. His health was fast failing; he complained of cough and depression of spirits. The boon of the professorship proved a source of uneasiness and vexation to him. He did not feel equal to its duties, and not one lecture was delivered during his tenure of office. In

May he removed again to London, where he grew worse. On the advice of his physician he went to Kensington, where he grew better. He returned to Cambridge, but, on the 24th of July, while at dinner in the college hall, he was seized with an attack of gout in his stomach. On the 29th convulsions ensued, which returned more violently on the 30th, and he died in the evening of that day. According to his own desire expressed in his will, he was buried beside the remains of his mother at Stoke-Pogis.

GRAY'S LITERARY CHARACTER.

Talents and acquirements. “Perhaps Mr. Gray was the most learned man in Europe: he was equally acquainted with the elegant and profound parts of science, and not superficially but thoroughly. He knew every branch of history, both natural and civil; had read all the original historians of England, France, and Italy: and was a great antiquarian. Criticism, metaphysics, morals, politics, made a principal part of his plan of study. Voyages and travels of all sorts were his favourite amusement; and he had a fine taste in painting, prints, architecture, and gardening. With such a fund of knowledge, his conversation must have been equally instructing and entertaining. But he was also a good man, a well-bred man, a man of virtue and humanity.”—Temple’s remarks in *London Magazine*.

Rank as a poet. “As a poet, though we cannot assent to the enthusiastic encomium of his ardent admirer and biographer, Mr. Matthias, that he is ‘second to none,’ yet, after naming Milton, and Shakespeare, and Spenser, and Chaucer, if we were compelled to assign the fifth place to some one, we know not to whom it would be, if not to Thomas Gray. There are in the poems that he has left us, few though they be, such a perfect finish of language, such felicity of expression, such richness and harmony of numbers, and such beauty and sublimity of thought and imagination, as to place him decidedly at the head of all English lyric poets. True, Collins comes next, and sometimes approaches him almost within a hair’s

breadth; but after all there is distance between them, and that distance is generally clearly perceptible."—*Cleveland*.

"Gray was a poet of a far higher order than Goldsmith, and of an almost opposite kind of merit. Of all English poets, he was the most finished artist. He attained the highest kind of splendour of which poetical style seems capable. If Virgil and his scholar Racine may be allowed to have united somewhat more ease with their elegance, no other poet approaches Gray in this kind of excellence. . . . Almost all Gray's poetry was lyrical—that species which, issuing from the mind in the highest state of excitement, requires an intensity of feeling which, for a long composition, the genius of no poet could support. Those who complained of its brevity and rapidity, only confessed their own inability to follow the movements of poetical inspiration. Of the two grand attributes of the ode, Dryden had displayed the enthusiasm, Gray exhibited the magnificence. He is also the only modern English writer whose Latin verses deserve general notice."—*Mackintosh*.

Naturalness of his poetry. "Gray, like Milton, was one of the most learned men of his age, and he also had the good taste to avoid, in the subject and imagery of his works, that feeble affectation of exclusive classicism which gives so monotonous and unnatural an air to most of the lyric compositions of his day; and thus his very boldness in rejecting all the over-worn machinery of Greek and Roman mythology actually tended to give his works a greater real and essential resemblance to the spirit of classical poetry. The artifices of his language and the peculiar structure of his verse are reproductions of ancient poetry, particularly of Greece; but the main source of the pleasure he gives is in the truly national

sympathies he excites, a merit strongly exemplified in two of his noblest compositions, the *Ode on Eton College* and the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*.”—*Shaw*.

Refined in Sentiment and Language. “His poems are works of refinement rather than of passion : but yet they are inspired with genuine sentiment. They are no doubt extremely artificial in form ; the weight of the author’s reading somewhat depresses their originality ; he can with difficulty escape from his books to himself ; but yet there is in him a genuine poetical spirit. His poetry, however elaborated, is sincere and truthful. If the exterior is often what Horace might have called over-filed and polished, the thought is mostly of the simplest and naturest. When he sees the school of his youth in the distance, his eyes fill with real feeling, whatever carefully chosen phrases are on his tongue. His soul is always simple, and true, and tender, and catholic, however exquisitely select and uncommon the dialect that represents it. And even in this dialect it must be allowed that there are many felicities. It is not always cold and scholastic. It is often of finished beauty. It is sometimes tremulous with emotion.”—*Hales*.

“Gray was as consummate a poetical artist as Pope. His fancy, again, was much less lively : but his sympathies were infinitely warmer and more expanded ; and he was unfettered by the matter-of-fact tendency of the French school. The polished aptness of language, and exact symmetry of construction, which give so classical an aspect to his Odes, do unquestionably bring with them a tinge of classical coldness ; and the want of passionate movement is felt particularly in his most ambitious pieces.”—*Spalding*.

“The poetry of Gray, with the exception of the *Elegy*—which everybody knows—has never become popular ;

yet in its own sphere it is very perfect ; delicately if not richly imaginative, curiously studded with imagery ; exquisitely finished, like miniatures painted in ivory. But his subjects are often remote, and out of the track of ordinary human feelings." — Chambers' *Encyclopædia*.

The secret of his success. "The characteristics of Gray's mind appear in his poems in all their glory. Like Milton, he had mastered all the classical poetry of antiquity, and much of the poetry of modern Italy ; and, like Milton, he admired the creations of Gothic genius. . Add to these qualities fire and life, boldness of imagination, condensed and brilliant expression, deep and quick sympathy, and we have the secret of his success. His *Elegy*, which Johnson criticised too severely, and which Byron has warmly praised, has received the seal of universal acceptance, while his *Pindaric Odes* are, as compositions, unsurpassed for majesty and sweetness. If the meaning of the lines is occasionally latent, it is never indefinite or confused ; repeated perusal may be necessary, but it is always rewarded, and as we read, beauties multiply and brighten to the view. His ear was exquisitely fine, and his versification has a harmony and variety found in few of our writers." — *Angus*.

ELEGY

WRITTEN IN A COUNTRY CHURCHYARD.

THE curfew tolls the knell of parting day,
 The lowing herd wind slowly o'er the lea,
 The ploughman homeward plods his weary way,
 And leaves the world to darkness and to me.

Now fades the glimmering landscape on the sight, 5
 And all the air a solemn stillness holds,
 Save where the beetle wheels his droning flight,
 And drowsy tinklings lull the distant folds ;

Save that from yonder ivy-mantled tower,
 The moping owl does to the moon complain 10
 Of such as, wand'ring near her secret bower,
 Molest her ancient solitary reign.

Beneath those rugged elms, that yew-tree's shade,
 Where heaves the turf in many a mould'ring heap,
 Each in his narrow cell for ever laid, 15
 The rude Forefathers of the hamlet sleep.

The breezy call of incense-breathing Morn,
 The swallow twitt'ring from the straw-built shed,
 The cock's shrill clarion, or the echoing horn,
 No more shall rouse them from their lowly bed. 20

For them no more the blazing hearth shall burn,
 Or busy housewife ply her evening care :
 No children run to lisp their sire's return,
 Or climb his knees the envied kiss to share.

Oft did the harvest to their sickle yield, 25
 Their furrow oft the stubborn glebe has broke ;
 How jocund did they drive their team afield !
 How bow'd the woods beneath their sturdy stroke !

Let not Ambition mock their useful toil,
Their homely joys, and destiny obscure ; 30
Nor Grandeur hear with a disdainful smile,
The short and simple annals of the Poor.

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Awaits alike the inevitable hour. 35
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

Nor you, ye Proud, impute to these the fault,
If Memory o'er their tomb no trophies raise.
Where through the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault
The pealing anthem swells the note of praise. 40

Can storied urn or animated bust
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can Honour's voice provoke the silent dust,
Or Flattery soothe the dull cold ear of Death?

Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid 45
Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire ;
Hands, that the rod of empire might have sway'd,
Or wak'd to ecstasy the living lyre.

But Knowledge to their eyes her ample page,
Rich with the spoils of time, did ne'er unroll ; 50
Chill Penury repress'd their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul.

Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear ;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air. 55

Some village-Hampden, that with dauntless breast
The little tyrant of his fields withstood ;
Some mute inglorious Milton here may rest,
Some Cromwell guiltless of his country's blood. 60

Th' applause of list'ning senates to command,
The threats of pain and ruin to despise,
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read their history in a nation's eyes,

Their lot forbade : nor circumscrib'd alone
 Their growing virtues, but their crimes confin'd ;
 Forbad to wade through slaughter to a throne,
 And shut the gates of mercy on mankind,

The struggling pangs of conscious truth to hide,
 To quench the blushes of ingenuous shame,
 Or heap the shrine of Luxury and Pride
 With incense kindled at the Muse's flame.

Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife,
 Their sober wishes never learned to stray ;
 Along the cool sequester'd vale of life
 They kept the noiseless tenor of their way.

Yet e'en these bones from insult to protect
 Some frail memorial still erected nigh,
 With uncouth rhimes and shapeless sculpture deck'd,
 Implores the passing tribute of a sigh,

Their name, their years, spelt by th' unlettered muse,
 The place of fame and elegy supply :
 And many a holy text around she strews,
 That teach the rustic moralist to die.

For who to dumb Forgetfulness a prey,
 This pleasing anxious being e'er resign'd,
 Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day,
 Nor cast one longing, lingering look behind ?

On some fond breast the parting soul relies,
 Some pious drops the closing eye requires ;
 E'en from the tomb the voice of Nature cries,
 E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires.

For thee, who, mindful of th' unhonour'd dead,
 Dost in these lines their artless tale relate ;
 If chance, by lonely contemplation led,
 Some kindred spirit shall inquire thy fate.

Haply some hoary-headed swain may say :
 " Oft have we seen him at the peep of dawn
 Brushing with hasty step the dews away
 To meet the sun upon the upland lawn.

“There at the foot of yonder nodding beech
That wreathes its old fantastic roots so high,
His listless length at noontide would he stretch,
And pore upon the brook that babbles by.

“Hard by yon wood, now smiling as in scorn, 105
Muttering his wayward fancies he would rove ;
Now drooping, woful wan, like one forlorn,
Or craz'd with care, or cross'd in hopeless love.

“One morn I miss'd him on the customary hill,
Along the heath and near his favourite tree ; 110
Another came ; nor yet beside the rill,
Nor up the lawn, nor at the wood was he ;

“The next with dirges due in sad array
Slow through the church-way path we saw him borne.
Approach and read (for thou can'st read) the lay, 115
Grav'd on the stone beneath yon aged thorn.”

THE EPITAPH.

HERE rests his head upon the lap of Earth,
A Youth to Fortune and to Fame unknown ;
Fair Science frown'd not on his humble birth,
And Melancholy marked him for her own. 120

Large was his bounty, and his soul sincere,
Heaven did a recompense as largely send ;
He gave to Misery all he had—a tear.
He gained from heaven ('twas all he wished) a friend.

No farther seek his merits to disclose, 125
Or draw his frailties from their dread abode
(There they alike in trembling hope repose),
The bosom of his Father and his God.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE ELEGY.

Published 1751. This poem, begun in 1742, was not finished until 1750, when Gray sent it to Walpole with a letter in which he says: "I have been here at Stoke a few days (where I shall continue good part of the summer), and having put an end to a thing, whose beginning you have seen long ago, I immediately send it you." Gray permitted it to be circulated in manuscript amongst some of his friends, and only consented to have it published because it was about to be printed surreptitiously, a copy having been given to the editor of the *Magazine of Magazines*. Gray wrote to Walpole that the proprietors were going to publish the *Elegy*, and added: "I have but one bad way left to escape the honour they would inflict upon me: and therefore am obliged to desire you would make Dodsley print it immediately (which may be done in less than a week's time) from your copy, but without my name, in what form is most convenient for him, but on his best paper and character; he must correct the press himself, and print it without any interval between the stanzas, because the sense is in some places continued beyond them, and the title must be—*Elegy written in a Country Churchyard*. If he would add a line or two to say it came into his hands by accident, I should like it better." Walpole did as requested, and in an advertisement wrote that accident alone brought the poem before the public. On which Gray wrote: "I thank you for your advertisement which saves my honour." It appeared in the *Magazine* a few days before Dodsley's edition came out. The latter was published in

quarto, price sixpence. The poem as given in the *Magazine* is more correctly printed than the authorized edition. In two months it went through four editions, and within two years no fewer than twelve editions were issued to supply the popular demand.

Metre. The *Elegy* is written in Iambic Pentameter measure. Each stanza consists of four lines rhyming alternately, *i.e.*, the third with the first and the fourth with the second. The quatrain, or stanza of four lines, had been used before Gray's time by Dryden in his *Annus Mirabilis*, and by other poets. It is well adapted to convey a series of solemn reflection such as are found in this poem. "In the *Elegy*," Hales remarks, "the quatrain has not the somewhat disjunctive and isolating effect which it has in those other works where there is continuous argument or narrative that should run on with as few metrical lets and hindrances as possible." With the exception of 2, 16, 17, and 24, the propositions do not extend from one stanza into another.

Scene of the poem. "Several localities have contended for the honour of being the scene of the *Elegy*, but the general sentiment has always, and justly, been in favour of Stoke-Pogis. It was there that Gray began the poem in 1742: and there, as we have seen, he finished it in 1750. In that churchyard his mother was buried, and there, at his request, his own remains were afterwards laid beside her. The scene is, moreover, in all respects in perfect keeping with the spirit of the poem. According to the common Cambridge tradition, Granchester, a parish about two miles south-west of the University, to which Gray was in the habit of taking his 'constitutional' daily, is the locality of the poem: and the great bell of St. Mary's is the 'curfew' of the first stanza. Another tradition makes a similar claim for Madingley, some three miles and a half north-west of Cambridge. Both places have churchyards such as the *Elegy* describes: and this is about all that can be said in favour of their pretensions. There is also a parish called Barnham Betches, in Buckinghamshire,

which one writer at least has suggested as the scene of the poem."—*Rolfe*.

Epitome. As a suitable prelude to the meditations which form the principal feature of the poem he gives a description (stanzas 1-3) of the churchyard and its surroundings as they appear to him at the approach of the shades of night. The life and fate (4-6) of the humble occupants of the grave are stated, and the labours, joys, and sorrows which marked their careers (7-11) referred to, while the ambitious and noble are requested not to despise their simple history. Circumstances alone (12-16) prevented them from attaining those high positions of influence for which their natural abilities fitted them. Their lot also saved them (17-19) from committing the crimes of those occupying prominent stations. But even they are not forgotten, since "frail memorials" and rude inscriptions (20-21) show that they are remembered by friends. This is only evidence of the universal desire (22-23) of mankind for immortality. These musings lead him to imagine (24-29) what may possibly be the thoughts of a "hoary-headed swain" regarding his own life. The meditative inquirer is directed to read his epitaph (30-32), and with this the poem closes.

Its wide fame. "The fame of the *Elegy* has spread to all countries, and has exercised an influence on all the poetry of Europe, from Denmark to Italy, from France to Russia. With the exception of certain works of Byron and Shakespeare, no English poem has been so widely admired and imitated abroad; and, after more than a century of existence, we find it as fresh as ever, when its copies, even the most popular of all, Lamartine's *Le Lac*, are faded and tarnished. It possesses the charm of incomparable felicity, of a melody that is not too subtle to charm every ear, of a moral persuasiveness that appeals to every generation, and of metrical skill that in each line proclaims the master. The *Elegy* may almost be looked upon as the typical piece of English verse, our poem of poems; not that it is the most brilliant or ori-

ginal or profound lyric in our language, but because it combines in more balanced perfection than any other all the qualities that go to the production of a fine poetical effect.”—*Gosse*.

“One peculiar and remarkable tribute to the merit of the *Elegy*,” says Professor Henry Reed, “is to be noticed in the great number of translations which have been made of it into various languages, both of ancient and modern Europe. It is the same kind of tribute which has been rendered to *Robinson Crusoe* and to *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, and is proof of the same universality of interest, transcending the limits of language and of race. To no poem in the English language has the same kind of homage been paid so abundantly.”

Wolfe’s tribute. Lord Mahon, in his *History of England*, gives a beautiful account of Wolfe’s tribute to Gray. Referring to the night of September 13th, 1759, the night before the battle on the Plains of Abraham, the historian says: “Swiftly, but silently, did the boats fall down with the tide, unobserved by the enemy’s sentinels at their posts along the shore. Of the soldiers on board, how eagerly must every heart have throbbed at the coming conflict! how intently must every eye have contemplated the dark outline, as it lay pencilled upon the midnight sky, and as every moment it grew closer and clearer, of the hostile heights! Not a word was spoken—not a sound heard beyond the rippling of the stream. Wolfe alone—thus tradition has told us—repeated in a low tone to the other officers in his boat those beautiful stanzas with which a country churchyard inspired the muse of Gray. One noble line,

‘The paths of glory lead but to the grave.’

must have seemed at such a moment fraught with mournful meaning. At the close of the recitation Wolfe added, ‘Now, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec.’”

The cause of its popularity. Hales, in his introduction to the poem, remarks: “The *Elegy* is perhaps the most widely

known poem in our language. The reason of this extensive popularity is perhaps to be sought in the fact that it expresses in an exquisite manner feelings and thoughts that are universal. In the current of ideas in the *Elegy* there is perhaps nothing that is rare, or exceptional, or out of the common way. The musings are of the most rational and obvious character possible ; it is difficult to conceive of any one musing under similar circumstances who should not muse so ; but they are not the less deep and moving on this account. The mystery of life does not become clearer, or less solemn and awful, for any amount of contemplation. Such inevitable, such everlasting questions as rise on the mind when one lingers in the precincts of Death can never lose their freshness, never cease to fascinate and to move. It is with such questions, that would have been commonplace long ages since if they could ever be so, that the *Elegy* deals. It deals with them in no lofty philosophical manner, but in a simple, humble, unpretentious way, always with the truest and the broadest humanity. The poet's thoughts turn to the poor ; he forgets the fine tombs inside the church, and thinks only of the 'mouldering heaps' in the churchyard. Hence the problem that especially suggests itself is the potential greatness, when they lived, of the 'rude forefathers' that now lie at his feet. He does not, and cannot solve it, though he finds considerations to mitigate the sadness it must inspire ; but he expresses it in all its awfulness in the most collective language and with the deepest feeling ; and his expression of it has become a living part of our language."

"The 'Churchyard' abounds with images which find a mirror in every mind, and with sentiments to which every bosom returns an echo. The four stanzas beginning 'yet even these bones,' are to me original. I have never seen the notions in any other place ; yet he that reads them here persuades himself that he has always felt them. Had Gray written often thus, it had been vain to blame, and useless to praise him."—*Johnson*.

“Of smaller poems, the *Elegy* of Gray may be considered as the most exquisite and finished example in the world of the effect resulting from the intermixture of evening scenery and pathetic reflection.”—*Drake*.

“Of the form of the *Elegy* it is superfluous to speak ; a poem so dignified and yet so tender, appeals immediately, and will continue to appeal, to the heart of every Englishman, so long as the care of public liberty and love of the soil maintain their hold in this country. In this poem, as indeed in all that Gray ever wrote, we find it his first principle to *prefer his subject to himself*: he never forgot that while he was a man he was also an artist, and he knew that the function of art was not merely to indulge nature, but to dignify and refine it. Yet, in spite of his love of form, there is nothing frigid or statuesque in the genius of Gray. A vein of deep melancholy, evidently constitutional, runs through his poetry, and, considering how little he produced, the number of personal allusions in his verses is undoubtedly large. But he is entirely free from that egotism which we have had frequent occasion to blame as the prevailing vice of modern poetry. For whereas the modern poet thrusts his private feelings into prominence, and finds a luxury in the confession of his sorrows, Gray’s references to himself are introduced on public grounds, or, in other words, with a view to poetical effect.”—*Quarterly Review*.

NOTES TO THE ELEGY.

1. **Curfew.** Fr. *couvre feu*, to cover fire. The popular opinion is that the "Curfew" was a bell rung in England, at eight o'clock every night, to warn people to cover their fires before retiring. Something of the same kind probably existed during the Anglo-Saxon times. Some recent commentators have contended that the name *curfew* was applied to the *cover* placed over the fire. The object of the custom was to prevent fires from breaking out, and also to lessen the number of robberies and murders by making it criminal to be out after eight at night. The practice was common in France, Italy, and other countries. The bell is still rung in Bristol and other parts of England, though the law is obsolete.

Tolls. "Warton," remarks Rolfe, "wanted to have this line read:

'The curfew tolls!—the knell of parting day.'

It is sufficient to say that Gray, as the manuscript shows, did not want it to read so, and that we much prefer his way to Warton's."

Mitford says that *toll* is "not the appropriate verb," as the curfew was rung, not tolled; but this probably depended on the fancy of the ringer.

Cf. Milton, *Il Pens.* 76:

"Swinging slow with sullen roar."

Longfellow's translation of Dante, *Purcat.* 8:

—"From far away a bell

That seemeth to deplore the dying day."

Dryden, *Prod. to Troilus and Cressida*, 22:

"That tolls the knell for their departed senses."

Knell. The solemn note of a funeral bell.

Parting = departing. Cf. Goldsmith, *D. V.* 171:

"Beside the bed where *parting* life was laid."

Shakespeare, *Cor.* v. 6: "When I *parted* hence." *Merchant of Venice*: "The quality of mercy is not *strain'd*" (restrained).

On the other hand, *depart* was formerly used in the sense of *part*. Cf. Chaucer:

“Till that the dette *departen* shal us tweine.”

2. Wind. “*Wind*, and not *winds*, is the reading of the MS. and of *all* the early editions—that of 1708, Mason’s, Wakefield’s, Mathias’s, etc.—but we find no note of the fact in Mitford’s or any other of the more recent editions, which have substituted *winds*. Whether the change was made as an amendment or accidentally, we do not know; but the original reading seems to us by far the better one. The poet does not refer to the herd as an aggregate, but to the animals that compose it. He sees, not *it*, but ‘*them* on their winding way.’ The ordinary reading mars both the meaning and the melody of the line.”—*Rolfe*.

Lea. A meadow. The word is found in various forms—*lay*, *ley*, *leigh*, &c., and still exists in many names of places, as *Layham*, *Leighton*, *Hadleigh*.

3. The critic of the *N. A. Review* points out that this line “is quite peculiar in its possible transformations. We have made,” he adds, “twenty different versions preserving the rhythm, the general sentiment, and the rhyming word. Any one of these variations might be, not inappropriately, substituted for the original reading.”

Cf. Burns’s *Cotter’s Sat. Night*:

“And weary, o’er the moor, his course does homeward bend.”
Spenser, *F. Qu.*, vi. 7, 39:

“And now she was upon the weary way.”

Plods. An intransitive verb. Notice the appropriateness of the word, and Cf. Shak.:

“Ambitious love hath so in me offended,
That barefoot *plod* I the cold ground upon.”

Way. Objective of direction. Point out the *alliteration* in this line. Cf. lines 19, 59, 104, 108. In this stanza all but two words are of Anglo-Saxon origin.

5. *Periphrasis* for, “Twilight now comes on.”

Cf. Milton:

“Now is the pleasant time,
The cool, the silent, save where silence yields
To the night-warbling bird, that now awake,
Tunes sweetest his love-labour’d song.”

Milton:

"Now came still evening on, and twilight gray
Had in her sober livery all things clad;
Silence accompany'd."

Glimmering. A diminutive of *gleam* and akin to "glittering." German *glimmen*.

Landscape. Formerly *landscape*. Probably the word is borrowed from the Dutch artists. Cf. Dutch, *landschap*, German, *landschaft*, and *scapan*, to shape, and its cognates, *shape*, *ship*, *scoop*, *skiff*, and the Gr. *skapto*. It is likely that the poet refers to the image of the "landscape" formed on the organs of vision.

6. **All.** Now in another reading.

Air. The object of "holds."

Solemn. L. *sollenis* (*sollus*, complete, and *annus*, a year), what takes place every year as a religious festival, and hence "religious."

Holds. Pervades.

7. **Save.** A preposition. Originally a verb in the imperative or perhaps a passive participle. Cf. "except" and see Mason's Grammar, par. 282.

Where, &c. A noun preposition. Cf. Collins, *Ode to Evening*:

"Now air is hush'd, save where the weak-eyed bat
With short shrill shriek flits by on leathern wing,
Or where the beetle winds
His small but sullen horn,
As oft he rises 'midst the twilight path,
Against the pilgrim borne in heedless hum."

and *Macbeth*, iii. 2:

"Ere the bat hath flown
His cloister'd flight; ere to black Hecate's summons
The shard-born beetle, with his drowsy hums,
Hath rung night's yawning peal," etc.

Beetle. The May-bug, or door-beetle.

Droning. Giving a buzzing, useless sound. The drone is a bee that does not collect honey.

Notice the *transferred epithet* and Cf. the *Traveller* l. 187.

8. **Drowsy.** Lulling, on account of their slow, dull, and monotonous sound.

Tinkling. L. *tinnio*: Cf. *tingle*.

Folds. *Metonymy* for flocks.

In this stanza notice the great abundance of epithets.

9. **Save.** A preposition governing the proposition that follows.

That. For the use of this word as a conjunction see Mason, par. 289.

Yonder. See Mason, par. 147.

Mantled. L. *mantelum*, Fr. *manteau*, Ger. *mantel*, a cloak.

Tower. A. S. *tor* or *tur*, a rock; cf. L. *turris*; Fr. *tour*. The poet means the old church at Stoke-Pogis, which was covered with ivy as with a mantle.

19. **Moping.** Out of spirits or dull.

Owl. Mitford quotes Ovid, *Met.* v. 550: "Ignavus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen;" Thompson, *Winter*, 114:

"Assiduous in his bower the wailing owl
Plies his sad song;"

and Mallet, *Excursion*:

"The wailing owl
Screams solitary to the mournful moon."

To the moon. "The poet represents the owl as complaining to the moon when passers-by disturb her, and perhaps frighten away the mice, &c., on which she feeds."—*Stevens and Morris*.

Complain. L. *con* and *plango*, to beat the breast in token of grief.

11. **As** = *as*: those are who.

Wandering. A. S. *wandrian*, *wendan*, to go.

Near. See Mason, par. 281.

Bower. A. S. *bur*, a cottage. Cf. *Deserted Vi lage*, 5:

"Dear lovely bowers of innocence and ease."

12. Cf. Virgil, *Geo.* iii. 476: "desertaque regna pastorum." A MS. variation of this line mentioned by Mitford is, "Molest and pry into her ancient reign."

Molest. L. *molestus*, from *moles*, a mass.

Reign = realm. Cf. Pope:

"The wrath which hurl'd to Pluto's gloomy reign
The souls of mighty chiefs untimely slain."

13. "As he stands in the churchyard, he thinks only of the poorer people, because the better-to-do lay interred inside the church. Tennyson (*In Mem.* x.) speaks of resting

‘beneath the clover sod

That takes the sunshine and the rains,

Or where the kneeling hamlet drains.

The chalice of the grapes of God.’

In Gray's time, and long before, and some time after it, the former resting-place was for the poor, the latter for the rich. It was so in the first instance, for two reasons: (i.) the interior of the church was regarded as of great sanctity, and all who could sought a place in it, the most dearly covered spot being near the high altar; (ii.) when elaborate tombs were the fashion, they were built inside the church for the sake of security, 'gay tombs' being liable to be 'robb'd' (see the funeral dirge in Webster's *White Devil*). As these two considerations gradually ceased to have power, and other considerations of an opposite tendency began to prevail, the inside of the church became comparatively deserted, except when ancestral reasons gave no choice."—*Hales*.

Rugged. Akin to *rough*.

Elms. *L. ulmus*, Ger. *ulme*.

Yew. A. S. *iw*; *L. ivus*; Fr. *if*.

14. **Where, &c.** An adverbial proposition modifying the adjuncts "beneath . . . elms" and "beneath . . . shade."

Heaves. Used intransitively. The word "heaven" is of the same derivation.

15. **Each.** Nominative in apposition to "forefathers."

Cell. The grave. Notice the *metaphor*.

16. **Rude.** *L. rudis*, rough; here not taken literally but meaning unpolished.

Cf. The *Traveller*, 3:

"The *rude* Carinthian boor."

Hamlet. A. S. *ham*, home, and *let* diminutive. Cf. *Oakham*, *Buckingham*, &c.

17. "This is one of the most striking stanzas in Gray's *Elegy*, which owes much of its celebrity to the concordance of numbers expressly tuned to the subjects, and felicity of language both in the sound and the significance of words employed. Yet in the first line of the verse above quoted the far-sought elegance of characteristic description in the 'breezy call of incense-breathing

morn' is spoiled utterly by the disagreeable clash between 'breezy' and 'breathing' within a few syllables of each other. Contrast this with the corresponding line, and the dullest ear will distinguish the clear full harmony of 'the cock's shrill clarion and the echoing horn.'"—*James Montgomery's Lectures*.

In the original manuscript this stanza was as follows:

"For ever sleep; the breezy call of morn,
Or swallow twittering from the straw-built shed,
Or chanticleer so shrill, or echoing horn,
No more shall rouse them from their lowly bed."

Incense. Properly a kind of gum which, when burnt, emits a fragrant odour.

For the expression "incense-breathing morn," cf. Milton. *Paradise Lost*, ix. 292:

"Now when as sacred light began to dawn
In Eden on the humid flowers that breathed
Their morning incense."

18. **Twittering.** Cf. Dutch *lweatern* and Ger. *zwitschern*.
straw-built. Referring to the thatched roofs.
shed. Cf. *Traveller*, 162.

19. **Cock's shrill clarion.** Rolfe compares, Philips, *Cyder*, . 757:

"When chanticleer with clarion shrill recalls
The tardy day;"

Milton, *P. L.*, vii. 443:

"The crested cock, whose clarion sounds
The silent hours:"

Hamlet, i. 1:

"The cock that is the trumpet to the morn;"

Quarles, *Argulus and Parthenia*:

"I slept not till the early bugle-horn
Of chanticlere had summon'd in the morn;"

and Thomas Kyd, *England's Parnassus*:

"The cheerful cock, the sad night's trumpeter,
Wayting upon the rising of the sunne;
The wandering swallow with her broken song," etc.

Horn. Of the hunter.

20. **Lowly bed.** Wakefield remarks: "Some readers, keeping in mind the 'narrow cell' above, have mistaken the 'lowly bed' in this verse for the grave—a most puerile and ridiculous

blunder;" and Mitford says: "Here the epithet 'lowly,' as applied to 'bed,' occasions some ambiguity as to whether the poet meant the bed on which they sleep, or the grave in which they are laid, which in poetry is called a 'lowly bed.' Of course the former is designed; but Mr. Lloyd, in his Latin translation, mistook it for the latter."

21. With the sentiment of the stanza cf. Thompson, *Winter*, 311

"In vain for him the officious wife prepares
The fire fair blazing, and the vestment warm;
In vain his little children, peeping out
Into the mingling storm, demand their sire
With tears of artless innocence."

Shall. "What is the force of *shall* here? What would *will* mean?"—*Rolfe*. See Mason, par. 213.

22. **Housewife.** Gray wrote "huswife." "Hussif" and "hussy," or "huzzy," are contractions.

Ply her evening care. Mitford says: "To *ply a care* is an expression that is not proper to our language, and was probably formed for the rhyme *share*." Hales remarks: "This is probably the kind of phrase which led Wordsworth to pronounce the language of the *Elegy* unintelligible. Compare his own:

'And she I cherished *turned her wheel*
Beside an English fire.'"

23. **No children, &c.** Cf. Shelley, *Revolt of Islam*, viii. 4:

"What dream ye? Your own hands have built a home,
Even for yourselves on a beloved shore;
For some, fond eyes are pining till they come,
How they will greet him when his toils are o'er,
And laughing babes rush from the well-known door!
Is this your care? Ye toil for your own good—
Ye feel and think—has some immortal power
Such purposes: or in a human mood,
Dream ye some Power thus builds for man no solitude?"

Burns' *Cotter's Sat. Night*:

"Th' expectant wee things, toddlin', stacher through
To meet their dad, wi' flichterin' noise and glee.
His wee-bit ingle blinkin' bonnilie,
His clean hearth-stane, his thrifty wifie's smile.
The lispin' infant prattlin' on his knee,
Does a' his weary carking cares beguile."

Children. A. S. *cild*, plural *cildru*, *cildra*. This is a curious instance of double plural.

24. **Envied kiss.** Rolfe says a MS. variation has "coming kiss." The same critic quotes the following:

Virgil, *Georgics*, ii. 523:

"Interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati."

Dryden:

"Whose little arms about thy legs are cast,
And climbing for a kiss prevent their mother's haste."

Thomson, *Liberty*, iii. 171:

"His little children climbing for a kiss."

Share. Cf. "shear," "sheer," and "shire."

25. **Sickle.** A. S. *sico*. What rhetorical figure in this line?

26. **Furrow.** A. S. *fur*. The plough is meant. *Metonymy*.

Stubborn. Cf. "stub," and "stubble."

Glebe. L. *gleba*, a clod. The word is now used to signify that which belongs to the incumbent, as such, of a church. Cf. Gray, *Fables*, ii. 15:

"'Tis mine to tame the stubborn glebe."

Broke. For "broken." Cf. the *Traveller*, 358.

27. **Jocund.** L. *jucundus*, joyful, an adjective for adverb by *enallage*.

Afield. Cf. *ashore*, *aboard*, *ajar*.

Cf. also Milton, *Lycidas*, 27:

"We drove *afield*."

Dryden, *Virgil's Ecl.*, iii:

"With me to drive *afield*."

28. **Sturdy.** Fr. *étourdi*. Rolfe compares: Spenser, *Shep. Kal. Feb.*:

"But to the roote bent his *sturdy stroake*,
And made many wounds in the wast (wasted) Oake."

Dryden, *Georgics*, iii. 639:

"Labour him with many a *sturdy stroke*."

29. **Ambition.** *Synecdoche*.

Mock. Fr. *moquer*.

30. **Homely.** A MS. gives "rustic." The word "homely" in this place means "plain." Cf. Dryden, "homely fare," and Burns, "What tho' on homely fare we dine."

31. **smile.** An imperfect rhyme with "toil."

32. Simple. *L. simplex.*

Annals. *L. annales (annus)*, a year, chronicles.

33. This has been termed the finest stanza of the poem. Mitford suggests that Gray had in mind these verses from his friend West's *Monody on Queen Caroline*:

“Ah, me! what boots us all our boasted power,
Our golden treasure, and our purple state;
They cannot ward the inevitable hour,
Nor stay the fearful violence of fate.”

Hurd compares Cowley:

“Beauty, and strength, and wit, and wealth, and power,
Have their short flourishing hour;
And love to see themselves, and smile,
And joy in their pre-eminence a while:
Even so in the same land

Poor weeds, rich corn, gay flowers together stand:
Alas! Death mows down all with an impartial hand.”

The boast of heraldry. The pride arising from superior rank.

Heraldry. This science, which treats of coats-of-arm and crests, originated among the French knights about the twelfth or thirteenth century. Various objects were adopted for crests, as animals, plants, etc. Eventually the king's permission was required before coats-of-arms could be assumed. The transmission of arms from father to son became common from an early period.

Pomp. *Gr. pompe*; originally the word meant “train” or “procession.”

Power. *L. posse, Fr. pouvoir.*

35. Await. Rolfe points out that this is “awaits” in the early editions.

Alike. An adverb.

Inevitable. That cannot be avoided.

36. See Wolfe's tribute in preliminary remarks.

But. Modifies “to the grave.”

37. This line and the following were originally written:

“Forgive, ye proud, th' involuntary fault,
If memory to these no trophies raise.”

Impute. *L. imputo (in and puto).* Cf. Dryden:

“Impute your dangers to our ignorance.”

38. **Memory.** Used for "those who remember" by *personification*.

Tomb. Gr. *tumbos*.

Trophies. Gr. *tropaion*, a monument of an enemy's defeat (from *trope*, a turning about); a pile of arms taken from a vanquished enemy, raised on the field of battle by the conquerors; or the representation of such a pile in marble and the like.

39. **Where, &c.** An adverbial complement of place, "to raise."

Long-drawn aisle. "The long aisle of a cathedral or other large church, alluding particularly to those of what is commonly called Gothic, but is more properly known as early English."—*Stevens and Morris*.

Aisle. L. *ala* and *axilla*, a wing; Fr. *aile*; written *ile* by Gray.

Fretted. "The fret is, strictly, an ornament used in classical architecture, formed by small fillets intersecting each other at right angles."—*Rolfe*.

Cf. *Hamlet*, ii. 2:

"his majestical roof *fretted* with golden fire."
and *Cymbeline*, ii. 4:

"The roof o' the chamber
With golden cherubims is *fretted*."

The word *fretted* has several meanings: 1. Worried (A. S. *fretan*, to gnaw); 2. ornamented (A. S. *frætwain*); 3. ornamented with bars (Fr. *fréter*, L. *ferrum*); and 4, the noun *fret*, a note in music (Fr. *fredon*, Italian *frittini*).

Vault. L. *volvo*, *volutus*; Fr. *voûte*.

40. **Pealing anthem.** Cf. *Il Pens.*, 161.

"There let the pealing organ blow
To the full-voiced quire below,
In service high, and anthem clear."

Pealing. L. *pello*, to beat or strike.

Anthem. Gr. *anti*, against or in return, and *hymnos*, a song.

41. **Storied urn.** "The ancient Greeks and Romans used to burn their dead and place their ashes in urns made for the purpose. These urns were frequently ornamented outside with pic-

tures illustrating the story or history of the deceased person. Such an urn as this the poet calls a storied urn. Windows of churches are often similarly painted with histories taken from Holy Scriptures."—*Stevens and Morris*.

Cf. Milton, *Il Penseroso*:

"Storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light."

Storied. Gr. *historia*.

Animated. L. *anima*, life. Cf. Pope, *Temple of Fame*, 73.

"Heroes in animated marble frown."

Virgil, *Æneid*, vi. 847: "*spirantia æra*."

Bust. "Bust is radically the same word with breast, through the Fr. *buste*, which is a weakened form of the German *brust*."—*Hales*.

42. **Mansion.** L. *mansio* (*maneo*, to abide); Fr. *maison*.

43. **Honour's voice.** The influence arising from the bestowment of honour.

Provoke. L. *pro*, forth, and *voco*, to call; hence to summon forth to life again. Cf. Pope:

"But when our country's cause *provokes* to arms."

44. **Dull cold ear.** Cf. Shakespeare, *Henry VIII.*, iii. 2:

"And sleep in dull cold marble."

Notice the figures in this stanza.

45. **Neglected spot.** The churchyard of Stoke-Pogis was not known to the public, and the word "neglected" means unnoticed.

46. **Pregnant.** L. *prægnans*, filled with.

Referring to this line Rolfe says: "This phrase has been copied by Cowper in his *Poetical*, which is said to have been written after Hume's History, in 1780:"

"Such the bard's prophetic words,
Pregnant with celestial fire,
Bending as he swept the chords
Of his sweet but awful lyre."

Celestial fire. "The gift of poetry, which was supposed to be sent from heaven by the gods; or it may mean talent generally. In the old mythology Prometheus is said to have made the figure of a man with clay, and to have animated it with fire, which, with the assistance of Minerva, he brought down from

heaven. As a punishment for this, Jupiter chained him to Mount Caucasus, with a vulture perpetually gnawing his liver.' —*Stevens and Morris*.

47. **Hands**, &c. Cf. Ovid, *Ep.*, v. 86: "Sunt mihi, quas possint sceptrā decere, manus."

Rod of Empire. The sceptre as an emblem of sovereignty. Instead of "rod" one MS. has "reins."

48. **Extasy**, or *ecstasy*. Gr. *ekstasis*.

Living lyre. Cf. Cowley:

"Begin the song and strike the *living lyre*."

and Pope, *Windsor Forest*, 281:

"Who now shall charm the shades where Cowley strung
His *living harp*, and lofty Denham sung."

49. **Knowledge.** *Personification*.

Ample. L. *amplus*, large.

Ample page. Referring to the vast amount of knowledge contained in books.

50. **Rich.** Qualifies "page."

Spoils of Time. The various kinds of Knowledge that have been gained from Ignorance by time and study. Cf. Browne, *Religio Medici*:

"Rich with the spoils of nature."

Unroll. Cf. L. *revolvere*. Account for the word "volume."

51. **Chill.** Why an appropriate term?

Penury. L. *penuria*, poverty. Formerly it also meant meanness, which is retained in "penurious."

Repressed, &c. Their noble desires were kept down by poverty. One MS. has "depress'd."

Rage. L. *rabies*, Fr. *rage*. Here enthusiasm is meant. Cf. Cowley:

"Who brought green poesy to her perfect age,
And made that art which was a *rage*?"

and Tickell, *Proh.*:

"How hard the task! How rare the godlike rage!"

52. **Froze**, &c. Their desires were checked by poverty as frost checks the natural current of a stream by freezing it.

Genial. L. *gigno*, to be born, and hence "natural."

53. **Full**, &c. Cf. Bishop Hall, *Contemplat ons*: "There is many a rich stone laid up in the bowels of the earth, many a

fair pearly in the bosome of the sea, that was never seene, nor never shall bee."

Cf. also Milton, *Comus* :

"Sea-girt isles,
That like to rich and various gems, inlay
The unadorned bosom of the deep."

Full qualifies "many."

Gem. *L. gemma*, *A. S. gim*.

Purest ray serene. As Hales remarks, this is a favourite arrangement of epithets with Milton. Cf. *Hymn on Nativity*: "flower-inwoven tresses torn;" *Comus*: "beckoning shadows dire;" "every alley green," etc.; *L'Allegro*: "native wood-notes wild;" *Lycidas*: "sad occasion dear;" "blest kingdom meek," etc.

Serene. Bright. *L. serenus*.

54. **Bear.** Have.

55. **Full**, &c. Rolfe compares Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, iv. 15:

"Like roses that in deserts bloom and die."

Mitford cites Chamberlyane, *Pharonida*, ii. 4:

"Like beauteous flowers which vainly waste their scent
Of odours in unhaunted deserts;"

Young, *Univ. Pass.* sat. v.:

"In distant wilds, by human eyes unseen,
She rears her flowers, and spreads her velvet green;
Pure gurgling rills the lonely desert trace,
And waste their music on the savage race;"

and Philip, *Thule*:

"Like woodland flowers, which paint the desert glades,
And waste their sweets in unfrequented shades."

Hales quotes Waller's

"Go, lovely rose,
Tell her that's young
And shuns to have her graces spied,
That hadst thou sprung
In deserts where no men abide
Thou must have uncommended died."

To blush. To blossom.

56. **Its sweetness.** Its perfume.

Desert air. Not the air of a desert, but that of a deserted or lonely place. Cf. *Macbeth*, iv. 3:

"That would be howl'd out in the *desert air*."

57. Cf. Wakefield's remarks as quoted by Cleveland: "What son of Freedom is not in raptures with this tribute of praise to such an exalted character, in immortal verse? This honourable testimony, and the noble detestation of arbitrary power with which it is accompanied, might possibly be one cause of Dr. Johnson's animosity against our poet. Upon this topic the critic's feelings, we know, were irritability itself and 'tremblingly alive all o'er.'"

Hampden. The proper names in this stanza furnish examples of *antonomasia*.

John Hampden (1594-1647), a cousin of Cromwell; entered parliament 1621, imprisoned in 1627 for refusing to pay his share of an illegal loan which Charles attempted to raise; refused to pay "ship-money" in 1636; killed in the battle of Chalgrove Field.

Dauntless. L. *domito*; Fr. *dompter*, to subdue.

58. **Little tyrant.** The "village-Hampden" or tenant is represented as resisting what he regards as the oppressive treatment of the wealthy landed proprietor, just as the great Hampden opposed Charles I. when attempting to violate the liberties of the English people. Cf. Thompson. *Winter*:

"With open freedom *little tyrants* raged."

59. **Mute.** As regards writing poetry, because he had not the opportunity of having his talent cultivated.

Inglorious. Not famous: sometimes the word has a meaning the opposite of glorious, as *an inglorious retreat*, i.e., a disgraceful one.

Milton. John Milton (1608-1674), the great English epic poet; wrote *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, *L'Ailegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Comus*, &c.

60. **Cromwell.** Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658); a country gentleman who became M.P. for Huntingdon; the great leader of the Parliamentary army; lord protector 1653.

Guiltless. "The prejudice against Cromwell was extremely strong throughout the 18th century, even amongst the

more liberal-minded. That cloud of 'detractions rude,' of which Milton speaks in his noble sonnet to our 'chief of men' as in his own day enveloping the great republican leader, still lay thick and heavy over him. His wise statemanship, his unceasing earnestness, his high-minded purpose, were not yet seen."—*Hales*.

Regarding the names given in this stanza the *Saturday Review* remarks: "Gray, having first of all put down the names of three Romans as illustrations of his meaning, afterwards deliberately struck them out and put the names of three Englishmen instead. This is a sign of a change in the taste of the age, a change with which Gray himself had a good deal to do. The deliberate wiping out of the names of Cato, Tully, and Cæsar, to put in the names of Hampden, Milton, and Cromwell, seems to us so obviously a change for the better that there seems to be no room for any doubt about it. It is by no means certain that Gray's own contemporaries would have thought the matter equally clear. We suspect that to many people in his day it must have seemed a daring novelty to draw illustrations from English history, especially from parts of English history which, it must be remembered, were then a great deal more recent than they are now. To be sure, in choosing English illustrations, a poet of Gray's time was in rather a hard strait. If he chose illustrations from the century or two before his own time, he could only choose names which had hardly got free from the strife of recent politics. If, in a poem of the nature of the Elegy, he had drawn illustrations from earlier times of English history, he would have found but few people in his day likely to understand him."

61. Applause. Their lot forbade them from becoming orators and as members of Parliament commanding the applause of listening senates. Parliamentary oratory, as exemplified by the elder Pitt, was just dawning.

To command. The infinitives "to command," "to despise," "to scatter," and "to read" are the object of "forbade."

62. The threats, &c. "Their humble position did not expose them to the threats of pain and ruin to which prominent persons are exposed in troublous times, but who, as history shows, have often despised them."—*Stevens and Morris*.

63. "As Walpole's long, peaceful administration (which ended in 1742) had done."—*Hales*.

Smiling. Referring either to the land as productive, or to the people as grateful for their prosperity.

Cf. Tickell: "To scatter blessings o'er the British land."

64. **To read, &c.** "Probably means to become what are commonly called public characters, whose history everyone knows, and who read the success of their efforts for the good of their fellow-countrymen in the sentiments which the latter entertain towards them."—*Stevens and Morris*.

65. **Forbade.** The indirect object is "them" (understood). **Circumscrib'd.** Limited.

Alone. Qualifies virtues.

66. **Their growing virtues.** The growth of their virtues. **Crimes.** *L. crimen, Fr. crime.*

Confined. They had not the opportunity of doing such wicked and cruel deeds as would make them notorious.

67. **Forbade.** Their lot forbade, &c. "These two verses are specimens of sublimity of the purest kind, like the simple grandeur of Hebrew poetry; depending solely on the thought, unassisted by epithets and the artificial decorations of expression."—*Cleveland*.

Wade. *A. S. wadan.* Cf. Pope, *Temple of Fame*, 347:

"And swam to empire through the purple flood."

Slaughter, &c. "To become king through the defeat of an enemy in battle, as William I. had done at Hastings; or by murder, as Henry IV. had done by the murder of Richard II., and as Richard III. had done by that of his nephews, Edward V. and Richard Duke of York."—*Stevens and Morris*.

68. **To shut, &c.** To act oppressively. Cf. Shakes., *Hen. V.*, III. 3:

"The gates of mercy shall be all shut up."

Mercy. *Fr. merci, from L. misericordia.*

69. **The struggling, &c.** "Their lot forbade them to conceal what they thought the truth through fear of persecution, because they occupied so humble a position that no one would have paid any heed to them, and consequently they had no need to quench the blushes of ingenuous shame, as those did who pretended, in order to avoid persecution, to believe doctrines

which 'conscious truth' told them were false."—*Stevens and Morris*.

70. **To quench, &c.** Cf. Shakes., *W. T.*, IV. 3:

"Come, quench your blushes, and present yourself."

71. **Shrine.** A. S. *scrin*, a case where something sacred is deposited. It was formerly customary for pilgrims to visit these shrines and deposit valuable offerings of gold, jewellery, &c. During the period of patronage, many poets of inferior worth gained prominence by their sycophancy.

72. **Incense.** Flattery is meant; incense was frequently burnt before shrines.

Muse. One to inspire his song. The Muses were nine in number:—Clio (history), Enterpe (lyric poetry), Thalia (comedy), Melpomene (tragedy), Terpsichore (choral dance), Polymnia (sublime song), Urania (astronomy), Calliope (epic poetry), and Erato. They were regarded by the earliest Greek and Latin writers as the inspirers of song, &c., and were invoked for the assistance which they were supposed to give. With modern poets the practice has been an imitation of the classic writers.

Hales quotes the following stanzas taken from Gray's first M.S. With them the Elegy was to have ended:

"The thoughtless world to majesty may bow,
Exalt the brave, and idolize success;
But more to innocence their safety owe
Than Pow'r, or Genius, e'er conspir'd to bless.

"And thou who, mindful of the unhonor'd dead,
Dost in these notes their artless tale relate,
By night and lonely contemplation led
To wander in the gloomy walks of fate.

"Hark! how the sacred calm, that breathes around,
Bids every fierce tumultuous passion cease;
In still small accents whisp'ring from the ground
A grateful earnest of eternal peace.

"No more, with reason and thyself at strife,
Give anxious cares and wishes room;
But through the cool sequester'd vale of life
Pursue the silent tenor of thy doom."

78. **Far, &c.** Cf. Drummond:

"Far from the madding wordling's hoarse discords."

Mitford points out "the ambiguity of this couplet, which indeed gives a sense exactly contrary to that intended; to avoid which one must break the grammatical construction." This may be done by taking the line grammatically with "kept," and the next line as a principal proposition.

Madding. Wild or furious. Cf. Milton:

"The *madding* wheels

Of brazen chariots rag'd."

Ignoble. Worthless. Hales remarks: "A belief in the iniquity of towns and the innocence of country life was one of the besetting delusions of the last century of the time of Rousseau and his fellows." Cf. Johnson, *London*, "From vice and London far."

74. **Sober.** L. *sobrius*, temperate.

75. Wakefield quotes Pope, *Epitaph on Fenton*:

"Foe to loud praise, and friend to learned ease,

Content with science in the vale of peace."

Sequestered. Retired. "Sequester, as a verb, means to take possession of property for the benefit of creditors, to separate it from its owner for a time, and hence to separate oneself from other people, withdraw, retire. It is derived from the Latin *sequester*, a mediator, a go-between or agent in cases of bribery, and so a person into whose hands money or any other matter or dispute was placed until the question was decided."—*Stevens and Morris*.

Senior. Their continued course.

77. **Yet.** Qualifies "implores."

These bones. "The bones of these. So *is* is often used in Latin, especially by Livy, as in v. 22: '*Ea sola pecunia*,' the money derived from that sale, etc.'"—*Hales*.

Insult. L. *insulto* (*in* and *salto*).

To protect. An adverbial complement of "erected."

78. **Frail memorial.** Probably the wooden tablet.

Still. Yet.

79. **Uncouth.** A. S. *un* and *cuth*, from *cunnan*, to know. It means unpolished. For change of meaning cf. "barbarous" and "outlandish." Milton has "uncouth cell," "voyage uncouth," and "uncouth swain."

Rhymes. A. S. *rim*. Earle remarks that *h* crept in from analogy to "rhythm."

Shapeless. The figures of angles, &c., have little resemblance to the objects intended to be represented.

Structure. Cleveland quotes Lord Byron's words: "In Gray's Elegy, is there any image more striking than this 'shapeless structure'?"

Deck'd. Adorned: A. S. *decan*; cf. L. *decus*.

80. **Passing.** This does not mean "trifling," but rather the "passer-by" who stops and moralises on death, and sympathises with the bereaved. Cf. *Lycidas*, 19:

"So may some gentle Muse
With lucky words favour my destin'd urn,
And, as he passes, turn
And bid fair peace be to my sable showed."

Tribute. L. *tribuo*.

Unletter'd. Unlearned, alluding to the writer.

82. **Elegy.** *Epitaph* in the first reading. "This was an age," Hales remarks, "much given to elaborate epitaphs and elegies."

83. **Text.** Of Scripture.

84. **That teach.** Mitford censures "teach" as ungrammatical, and thinks Gray originally wrote "to teach," but altered it afterwards for euphony. Rolfe justifies it as a "construction according to sense." If usage should determine the matter, the construction is ungrammatical.

Rustic moralist. The unlearned passer-by who "moralises" upon the inscriptions.

85. Hales remarks: "At the first glance it might seem that *to dumb Forgetfulness a prey* was in apposition to *who*, and the meaning was, 'Who that now lies forgotten,' etc.; in which case the second line of the stanza must be closely connected with the fourth; for the question of the passage is not 'Who ever died?' but 'Who ever died without wishing to be remembered?' But in this way of interpreting this difficult stanza (i.) there is comparatively little force in the appositional phrase, and (ii.) there is a certain awkwardness in deferring so long the clause (virtually adverbial though apparently co-ordinate in which, as has just been noticed, the point of the question really lies. Perhaps therefore it is better to take the phrase *to dumb Forgetfulness a prey* as in fact the completion of the predicate *resign'd*, and

interpret thus: Who ever resigned this life of his with all its pleasures and all its pains to be utterly ignored and forgotten?—Who ever, when resigning it, reconciled himself to its being forgotten? In this case the second half of the stanza echoes the thought of the first half."

After quoting the remarks of Hales, Rolfe says: "We give the note in full and leave the reader to take his choice of the two interpretations. For ourself, we incline to the first rather than the second. We prefer to take *to dumb Forgetfulness a prey* as appositional and proleptic, and not as the grammatical complement of *resigned*: Who, yielding himself up a prey to dumb Forgetfulness, ever resigned this life without casting a longing, lingering look behind?"

The argument of Hales, in favour of the second method, remains untouched.

For. Not an uncommon word in introducing a statement used to substantiate what has been asserted. The force may be seen by supplying an ellipsis: "This is the case *for*," &c.

Prey. In apposition to "being."

87. **Warm.** With affection.

Precincts. Limits, from *L. præ* and *cingere*, to limit.

88. **Nor, &c.** = That did not, &c.

89. In this stanza the poet answers the twice repeated question of the previous stanza. Notice the amplification of this and also of line 91. The stanza furnishes an example of a *climax*.

Fond. Affectionate. Formerly it meant foolish.

90. **Pious.** Used in the sense of the *L. pius*, affectionate. Ovid has "*piæ lacrimæ*." Mitford quotes Pope, *Elegy on an Unfortunate Lady*, 49:

"No friend's complaint, no kind domestic tear
Pleas'd thy pale ghost, or grac'd thy mournful bier;
By foreign hands thy dying eyes were clos'd."

"In this stanza," says Hales: "he answers in an exquisite manner the two questions, or rather the one question twice repeated, of the preceding stanza. . . . What he would say is that every one while a spark of life yet remains in him yearns for some kindly loving remembrance; nay, even after the spark is quenched, even when all is dust and ashes, that yearning must still be felt."

91. **Even.** Modifies "from the tomb." Mitford paraphrases the couplet thus: "The voice of Nature still cries from the tomb in the language of the epitaph inscribed upon it, which still endeavours to connect us with the living; the fires of former affection are still alive beneath our ashes."

92. An early reading was:

"And buried ashes glow with social fires."

Cf. Chaucer, *C. T.*, 3880:

"Yet in our ashen cold is fire yreken."

Tennyson, *Laud*, l. (xxii. 11):

"She is coming, my own, my sweet,
Were it ever so airy a tread
My heart would hear her and beat,
Were it earth in an earthly bed;
My dust would hear her and beat,
Had I lain for a century dead,
Would start and tremble under her feet
And blossom in purple and red."

Ashes. So called from the early custom of cremation.

Fires. Aspirations.

93. The original reading was thus:—

"If chance that e'er some pensive spirit more,
By sympathetic musings here delay'd,
With vain, though kind inquiry shall explore
Thy once-lov'd haunt, this long-deserted shade."

For. Relation: "may say *for* thee."

Thee. The poet himself.

94. **Artless.** Simple.

95. **Chance.** Perchance, an adverb.

Contemplation. *Personification.*

Led. Referring to "spirit."

96. **Kindred.** A. S. *cyn*, and hence of a like meditative nature.

97. **Haply, &c.** The principal proposition, those in the preceding stanza being subordinate.

Swain. A countryman.

98. Cf. Milton, *Comus*, 133:

"Ere the blabbing eastern scout
The nice morn, on the Indian steep
From her cabin'd loop-hole peep."

99. Cf. Milton, *P. L.*, v. 428:

“though from off the boughs each morn
We brush mellifluous dews;”

and *Arcades*, 50:

“And from the boughs brush off the evil dew.”

Wakfield quotes Thomson, *Spring*, 103:

“Oft let me wander o’er the dewy fields,
Where freshness breathes, and dash the trembling drops
From the bent brush, as through the verdant maze
Of sweetbrier hedges I pursue my walk.”

100. **To meet the sun.** To see the sun rise.

Upland. Sloping upwards. “Upland,” at one time, meant the country as opposed to the town. As Rolfe shows, this line was originally written thus:

“On the high brow of yonder hanging lawn.”

After this came the following:

“Him have we seen the greenwood side along,
While o’er the heath we hied, our labour done,
Oft as the woodlark pip’d her farewell song,
With wistful eyes pursue the setting sun.”

Mason said: “I rather wonder that he rejected this stanza, as it not only has the same sort of Doric delicacy, which charms us peculiarly in this part of the poem, but also completes the account of his whole day; whereas, this evening scene being omitted, we have only his morning walk, and his noontide repose.”

101. **Nodding.** Drooping.

102. **Fantastic roots.** Alluding to the curious forms into which they are often twisted.

Cf. Spenser, *Ruins of Rome*, stanza 28:

“Shewing her wreathed rootes and naked armes.”

103. **Listless.** Inattentive, languid.

Cf. *King Lear*, I. 4: “If you will measure your lubber’s length again, tarry;” and *Brittain’s Ida*:

“Her goodly length stretched on a lilly-bed.”

Noontide. A. S. *non-tid*.

Stretch. An imperfect rhyme with “beech.”

104. **Babbles.** Heb. *bavel*, confusion.

Cf. Thomson, *Spring*, 644: “divided by a babbling brook;” and Horace, *Od.*, iii. 13. 15:

unde loquaces
Lymphæ decedunt rivæ.”

Wakefield quotes *As You Like It*, II. 1:

"As he lay along
Under an oak whose antique root peeps out
Upon the brook that brawls along this road."

105. In one MS. this line reads:

"With gestures quaint, now smiling as in scorn."

Hard. An adverb modifying "by yon wood."

Smiling. Refers to "he." *Smiling, muttering, drooping, woeful, wan, craz'd, cross'd*, describe the varying mood of the poet.

As, &c. = As he would smile if he smiled in scorn.

Cf. Shakes., *Pass. Pilgrim*, 14:

"Yet at my parting sweetly did she smile,
In scorn or friendship, nill I construe whether."

106. **Muttering.** *L. mutio.*

107. **Woeful-wan.** Mitford says: "*Woeful-wan* is not a legitimate compound, and must be divided into two separate parts, for such they are when released from the *handcuffs* of the hyphen." If the hyphen be retained, the epithet = *woefully wan*; and if omitted, the expression will mean *woeful* and *wan*.

Wakefield quotes Spenser, *Shep. Kal. Jun.*:

"For pale and wanne he was (alas the while!)
May seeme he loved, or els some care he tooke."

Forlorn. "Lorn" is derived from "lose." Cf. "forgive," "forswear," "forsake," "forget," &c.

108. **Hopeless.** "*Hopeless* is here used in a proleptic or anticipatory way."—*Hales*.

109. **On.** The original MS. has "from."

'Custom'd. Cf. '*parting* for *departing*, l. 1; and '*grav'd* for *engrav'd*, l. 116.

111. **Another.** Another morn.

Yet. Parse.

Rill. Give synonymes.

112. **Lawn.** Formerly a meadow.

113. **The next.** The next morn.

Dirges. A funeral song. It is derived from the first word in a Latin hymn, beginning, *dirige gressus meos*; formerly used by the Catholic Church at funerals.

Due. *L. debere*; *Fr. devoir*, to owe.

Array. *Fr. arroi*.

114. **Slow.** For "slowly," by enallage.

Church. A. S. *circe*.

Churchway. Church-yard. Some suggest *church-hay* = *church-yard*.

Cf. *M. N. D.*, v. 2:

"Now it is the time of night,
That the graves all gaping wide,
Every one lets forth his sprite
In the churchway paths to glide."

115. **For.** See 85. The "hoary-headed swain" himself, it is implied, could not read, since reading was not then a very common accomplishment.

Lay. A. S. *ley*. Used instead of *epitaph* (Gr. *epi* and *taphos*), on account of the rhyme.

116. **'Grav'd.** A. S. *grufan*, to dig. "The old form of the participle is *graven*, but *graved* is also in good use. The old preterite *grove* is obsolete."—*Rolfe*.

After this stanza, and before the Epitaph, the MS. contains the following omitted stanza:

"There scatter'd oft, the earliest of the year,
By hands unseen are frequent violets found;
The robin loves to build and warble there,
And little footsteps lightly print the ground."

The omission was not made from any objection to the stanza in itself, but simply because it was too long a parenthesis in this place; on the principle which he states in a letter to Dr. Beattie:

As to description, I have always thought that it made the most graceful ornament of poetry, but never ought to make the subject." The part was sacrificed for the good of the whole. Mason very justly remarked that "the lines, however, are in themselves exquisitely fine, and demand preservation."

117. **Lap of earth.** A *metaphor*. "The poet here speaks of the Earth as his mother, in allusion to the Scriptural account of the Creation of Man from the 'dust of the ground,' and represents himself as sleeping the sleep of death with his head resting upon her lap, after the manner of a little child."—*Stevens and Morris*.

Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.*, v. 7:

"For other beds the priests there used none,
But on their Mother Earth's deare lap did lie."

Milton, *P. L.*, x. 777:

"How glad would lay me down,
As in my mother's lap."

118. **Youth.** Subject of "rests."

Frown'd not. *Litotes.*

119. **Humble.** Consult life of Gray.

120. **Mark'd.** "In allusion to the custom of marking cattle, &c., with the names or initials of their owner."—*Stevens and Morris.*

121. **Bounty.** Fr. *charité*, charity, liberality.

Sincere. L. *line*, without, and *cera*, wax; and hence pure, upright.

122. **Recompense.** (L. *re-com-penso*) Fr. *récompense*.

As. An adverb.

Largely. Used for "large," on account of the metre.

123. **All he had.** Some editors, following Mathias, enclose these words in a parenthesis. Mentioning the alteration, Rolfe says: "This alters the meaning, mars the rhythm, and spoils the sentiment."

Tear. The extent of his "bounty."

124. **A friend.** The "recompense" gained.

125. **To disclose.** An adverbial complement of "seek."

126. Mitford says that *Or* in this line should be *Nor*. Yes, if "draw" is an imperative, like "seek;" no, if it is an infinitive in the same construction as "to disclose." That the latter was the construction the poet had in mind is evident from the form of the stanza in the Wrightson MS., where "seek" is repeated:

"No farther seek his merits to disclose,
Nor seek to draw them from the dread abode."

Frailties. Weaknesses, sins.

Dread abode. The bosom of God, to whom the poet has confessed his sins.

127. **Alike.** An adverb modifying "repose."

Gray quotes Petrarch, *Sonnet* 104: "Paventosa speme." Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vii. 297: "Spe trepido;" Malliet, *Universal Hymn*, 473:

"With trembling tenderness of hope and fear;"

and Beaumont, *Psyche*, xv. 314:

"Divided here 'twixt trembling hope and fear."

Hooker (*Eccl. Pol.*, i.) defines hope as "a trembling expectation of things far removed."

128. **Bosom.** "This epitaph has been commented on, and translated into different languages, by various men of eminence, most of them divines. Did it ever occur to any of these that there was an impropriety in making the 'bosom' of Almighty God an abode of human frailty to repose in? Unless, therefore, the author meant by the word 'bosom' only remembrance, there is certainly a great inconsistency in the expression."—*Cleveland*.



LIFE OF EDMUND BURKE.

Parents. The father of Edmund Burke, Mr. Richard Burke, was descended from some Bourkes of Limerick County, who held a respectable local position in the times of the civil wars. He was an attorney of considerable practice, a resident of Dublin, and a Protestant in religion. Mrs. Burke belonged to the Nagle family, which had a strong connection in the County of Cork, and like her ancestors she remained an adherent of the Catholic faith.

Birth, 1729. On the 12th of January of this year Edmund Burke was born in Dublin. He and his two brothers were bred in the religion of their father, while their only sister followed the mother's creed. He received the first rudiments of education from Mr. O'Halloran, the village school master of Castletown Roche who many years afterwards used to pride himself on having taught Burke Latin. Like Sir Walter Scott and other distinguished men, delicate health prevented him from engaging in boyish sports, and tended to make him spend much of his time in reading and pondering, sitting by himself in corners. At the age of twelve he attended, with his two brothers, Garret and Richard, a school at Ballitore, a village in Kildare

about thirty miles from Dublin. It was to Abraham Shackleton, a Quaker from Yorkshire, who had already earned a high reputation as teacher of this school, that Burke always professed he owed whatever gain had come to him from education. That deep reverence which he always had for homely goodness, simple purity, and all the pieties of life, was largely due to the impressions stamped in him by this schoolmaster during the two years he was under his charge.

At Trinity College Dublin, 1743. Here Burke remained until 1748 when he took his degree of B. A. When he entered college he had a stock of reading such as few lads even in the present century carried with them from school. Like many other men of great gifts his studies were of a desultory and excursive character. After having his attention taken up at first with natural philosophy, or as he puts it, the *furor mathematicus*, the *furor logicus*, the *furor historicus* and the *furor poeticus*, absorb, in succession his mind. Of the eminent Irishmen whose names adorn the annals of Trinity College in the eighteenth century, one, the luckless sizar, who afterwards wrote the *Deserted Village*, was Burke's contemporary. While Oliver Goldsmith was continually in scrapes Burke on the contrary seems to have passed a decorous though merry time at Trinity. We have glimpses of him, as airing his oratory in a debating society, perhaps with aspirations, even then, towards that larger debating society, whose applause he was destined one day to command. Even while an undergraduate he exhibited literary talent, of no mean order, in his translation of part of the second *Georgic* of Virgil.

A Law Student, 1747. The year before he obtained his Bachelor's degree his name had been entered at the Middle Temple and he proceeded to England in 1750 to pursue the ordinary course of a lawyer's studies. His observations on London as preserved in letters to his friends are always apt, and frequently shrewd. They also show that tendency to the florid, rhetorical style for which his

speeches and writings afterwards became famous. He refers to the turrets of hospitals and charitable institutions as "piercing the skies like so many electrical conductors to avert the wrath of heaven from the great arched city." Though he had such a respect for the profession of law as to lead him to regard it "a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding than all the other kinds of learning put together," its dry details disgusted him and he was never called to the bar. The vague attractions of literature had more influence than his father's desire to make his son a barrister, and he settled down to the London life of a lettered student, writing for Dodsley, of Pall Mall, an account of the European settlements in America, and various other works.

Marriage, 1756. In this year Burke married the daughter of Dr. Nugent, an Irish physician. Like her father, she was, up to the time of her marriage, a Catholic. Afterwards she conformed to the religion of her husband and exhibited qualities which rendered the union a happy and fortunate one. He now made his first mark in literature by a satire, entitled *A Vindication of Natural Society*. It purported to be a posthumous work from the pen of Bolingbroke. So masterly was the imitation of the style, that it deceived many, who took the work for a genuine effusion of the distinguished sceptic. In the same year appeared the *Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. This work attracted considerable attention in England and on the continent but left no permanent impression in the development of aesthetic thought. He became acquainted with men of eminence who appreciated his genius and in whose conversation he took delight. The genial Arthur Murphy, the versatile Garrick, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Oliver Goldsmith and Dr. Samuel Johnson were among his literary friends. He began a series of *Hints on the Drama*, wrote an *Abridgement of the History of England* and an *Account of the European Settlements on the Continent*.

Annual Register, 1759. The *Annual Register* was started in 1759 and Burke became the editor and chief contributor. That year—a memorable one in Canadian history—gave him some fine things to chronicle as historiographer. In other respects the first *Annual Register* could boast of special attractions. In it Burke wrote a review of Johnson's *Rasselas*, not without a kindly expression of wonder, that the nation should as yet have done nothing in acknowledgement of the merit of the author. During these years of literary activity Burke's fame was steadily rising. His various knowledge fairly amazed all with whom he came in contact. Goldsmith placed his ability in conversation above that of Johnson himself. When the famous Literary Club was formed in 1763 he at once became one of its honoured members.

Enters Political Life, 1761. His political life began in 1761 when he was appointed private Secretary to "Single Speech" Hamilton who then became Chief Secretary for Ireland. Here his knowledge of political economy, which was so great as to command the respectful admiration of Adam Smith, was of the greatest practical use. The atmosphere of Dublin Castle and the bearing of the coarse-minded Hamilton were not congenial to the clever young Whig, and he threw up a lately conferred pension of £300 a year, returning to London where a brilliant career awaited him.

Enters Parliament, 1766. In 1764 the Marquis of Rockingham, a young nobleman of high character and respectable talents, was placed at the head of a Whig ministry. He appointed Burke, his Secretary. The flattering distinction excited the envy of that malignant pack who throughout his whole career were always baying at the heels of Burke. The meddling and spiteful Duke of Newcastle ran off with a face full of horror to the Prime Minister. "He is an imposter, my dear lord," was the burden of the old busybody's song; "he is a Papist, sworn to fight against the crown; a Jesuit in disguise, who got

his training at St. Omer ; a Jacobite, ready and willing to foster rebellion." In the following year a new and great field opened for Burke's exertions. On the 14th of January, 1766, he took his seat for Wendover, standing for the first time on the floor of St Stephen's Chapel, whose walls were to ring so often with the rolling periods of his grand eloquence, and the peals of acclamation bursting alike from friend and foe. On the first day of his attendance he delivered a speech of such power as astonished and delighted no less a critic than the elder William Pitt, elated the sturdy old Johnson and made the relatives of "Ned" proud of the name. He soon took a front rank. His deeply rooted hatred of oppression and wrong, was manifested in that luminous and persuasive eloquence, which, in a great measure, effected the repeal of the Stamp Act, passed by the opinionated and determined Grenville. The taxing of the American Colonies by England appeared to him, not only unjust, but as tending to irritate and provoke to hostility a great and powerful community, otherwise loyally disposed towards England.

A Landed Proprietor, 1768. Burke now became a landed proprietor. He bought an estate at Beaconsfield, in Buckingham, at a cost of £22,000. In spite of the remuneration he received from his literary and other labours and in spite of the large assistance given by Lord Rockingham he remained in debt all his life. Like Pitt, he was too deeply absorbed in the service of his country to have for his private affairs the solicitude that would have been prudent. The next year he wrote his *Observations on the State of the Nation*, in reply to a bitter pamphlet by George Grenville. The revival of high doctrines of prerogative in the Crown was accompanied by a revival of high doctrines of privilege in the House of Commons. The unconstitutional prosecution of Wilkes was followed by the fatal recourse to new plans for raising taxes in the American Colonies. In 1770 appeared *Thoughts on the cause of the Present Discontents*, a powerful argumentative treatise

the object of which was to press for the hearty concurrence both of public men and of the nation in combining against "a faction ruling by the private instructions of a court against the general sense of the people." Here as well as in later publications a strong vein of conservative feeling was manifest. Among the works ascribed to his pen were those remarkable letters, signed *Junius*.

Elected for Bristol, 1784. At the general election of 1784, Burke was returned for the borough of Malton, in Yorkshire. In a few weeks afterwards, he received the great distinction of being chosen one of the representatives of Bristol. His independence in voting in favour of a bill brought in for relief of the Roman Catholics did not suit classes too easily influenced by such fanaticism as produced the Gordon riots and he paid the penalty in being obliged to decline a contest in that constituency at the next election. In the meantime his political genius, as displayed in parliament, shone with an effulgence that was worthy of the great affairs over which it shed so magnificent an illumination. His speeches are monuments of the struggles for the liberty of the people. That *on American Conciliation* in 1775 and that *on Taxation* exhibit that deep ethical quality which is the prime secret of their convincing power.

A Minister, 1782. The Tory government of Lord North was forced to resign in 1782, and the Rockingham party returned to power once more. Burke was made a privy councillor, and obtained the office of Paymaster of the Forces. He continued to sit during the rest of his parliamentary life for Malton. His office was one to which various irregular gains were attached. With singular disinterestedness he introduced a thorough reform of the department, and refused to receive anything beyond the salary for his office. The tenure of power by the new Ministry was brief. In July Rockingham died; Lord Shelburne took office; Fox declined to serve under him, and Burke with his loyalty to Fox followed him out of office. Lord Shelburne was obliged to retire and a Coalition Min-

istry under Lord Portland was formed. It contained such an indefensible alliance as that of Fox and Lord North, Burke taking his old post at the pay-office. They were not in office long. The misgovernment of India had long been a scandal throughout the world. Fox's India Bill weakened the power of the Crown by giving a mass of patronage to the party which the king hated. The measure was thrown out by means of a royal intrigue in the Lords, and the ministers were instantly dismissed. In the election of 1784, the prime minister, young Pitt, was sustained, the action of the king against the Portland combination approved of by the nation, and the hopes which Burke had cherished for a political life-time were irretrievably ruined.

Trial of Warren Hastings, 1788. Though the rout of the orthodox Whigs was followed by a period of repose for the country, it was also followed by one of the most memorable trials recorded in English history. In the famous impeachment of Warren Hastings, Burke stood up in the cause of oppressed millions, against a tyranny that surpassed the worst injustice inflicted upon the American colonies. A tyrant, without pity, remorse, or fear, sat enthroned by the British senate as Governor-General of India. The story of Hasting's crimes, as Macaulay says, made the blood of Burke boil in his veins. The organized extortion and fraud; the infliction of outrages, insults, and tortures; a total denial of the rights of the natives as subjects of the English government, consolidated oppression into a system against which there was no appeal. Already in 1785, he delivered one of the most famous of all his speeches, that on the Nabob of Arcot's debts. Now the "crown of his glory as an orator was won in the great Hall of Westminster, where, in the presence of the noblest and fairest, the wisest and the most gifted of the land, he uttered the thunders of his eloquence in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of India. Opening the case in February 1788 in a speech of four days, he continued his statement during certain days of April, and

wound up his charges with an address, which began on the 28th of May and lasted for the nine succeeding days. As he spoke, the scenery of the East—rice-field and jungle, gilded temple and broad-bosomed river, with a sky of heated copper glowing over all—unfolded itself in a brilliant picture before the kindled fancy of his audience; and when the sufferings of the tortured Hindoos and the desolation of their wasted fields were painted, as only Burke could paint in words, the effect of the sudden contrast upon those who heard him was like the shock of a Leyden jar. Ladies sobbed and screamed, handkerchiefs and smelling bottles were in constant use, and ‘some were even carried out in fits.’ That sustained and over-flowing indignation at outraged justice and oppressed humanity which burst forth again and again from the lips of Burke was such a scorching fire that even the cool and intrepid Hastings lost his self-control and cried out with protests and exclamations like a criminal writhing under the scourge. Nevertheless a conviction did not follow. The trial lingered too long. The counsel for the defence employed effective tactics. Too many had been enriched by Hasting’s misdeeds. A sum of £20,000 was expended by the wealthy defendant in influencing the press. A verdict of acquittal was rendered in 1795. Mr. Burke received for his exertions a vote of thanks which was proposed by Mr. Pitt and with this his political life ended, as he immediately afterwards retired from parliament.

The Reflections, 1790. For years Burke had watched with anxious interest the tokens that heralded the coming storm in France. He had seen the causes at work that brought about the mighty crash of an ancient throne. Already in 1789, before the horrible phase of the Revolution, the Reign of Terror, had commenced, Burke made up his mind regarding the movement. In 1790 appeared the *Reflections on the Revolution in France* in which he set forth at length his ideas and prophecies. Those who know the incredible rashness of the revolutionary doctrine then professed by its admirers and those who know their disregard

of means to secure the object in view can readily acknowledge the sensible conclusions of Burke in many of his contentions. The work had an enormous success, was translated into French and became the text-book of royalists and "empires." George III. pursued the *Reflections* with a great deal of pleasure, remarking that it was a book that every gentleman ought to read. The heat and fury with which the author inveighed against the Revolution and everything thereunto appertaining, startled and irritated his old political friends such as Fox, Sheridan and the rest. The new government of France which Fox had praised was declared, by Burke, in the House of Commons, to be a plundering, ferocious, bloody, tyrannical democracy. From that time he separated himself from the party with whom he had acted during his whole parliamentary career.

Additional productions. Burke's break with his Whig associates was complete. In 1791 the thundercloud burst. The scene of the public rupture between him and Fox took place in the House of Commons. It occurred in connection with the debate on the Quebec Act. Fox went out of his way to laud the French Revolution and to sneer at some effective passages in the *Reflections*. Burke replied vigorously. "But there is no loss of friends," said Fox in an eager under-tone. "Yes," cried Burke, "there is a loss of friends. I know the penalty of my conduct. I have done my duty at the price of my friend—our friendship is at an end." A few months afterwards Burke published the *Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*. The events of Paris were doing more than words, to confirm his sagacity and foresight. The retirement of Fox became necessary. Pitt came into power, England warred against the French republic though the prime minister was anxious for peace.

A pension of £2,500 having been conferred on the veteran statesman, the Duke of Bedford and Lord Lauderdale made some remarks which aroused the old lion. "They thought that he was toothless, until he rose with gnashing fangs and tore the wretches limb from limb." In the *Letter to a Noble*

Lord, thus called forth, we have one of the finest specimens of Burke's powerful style.

At the mention of negotiation with France, Burke flamed out in the *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, in some respects the most splendid of all his compositions. They glow with passion, and yet the fervour of imagination is skilfully tempered with close and plausible reasoning. They stirred the nation to the very depths and increased the aversion of the king and several important personages in the government against the plans of Pitt.

Death, 1797. Heavy sorrows darkened the close of his life. In 1794, he lost his brother Richard. A far heavier calamity befell him a few months later, in the death, from consumption, of his only son Richard, shortly after he had been returned in his father's place for the borough of Malton. The bereaved father pathetically bewailed the last hope of his house, "the prop of his age," "his better self." When the third and the most impressive of the *Letters on a Regicide Peace* came into the hands of the public, the writer was no more. The upright statesman, the persistent and eloquent denouncer of oppression and wrong, died quietly in his house at Beaconsfield, his last hours soothed by the cares of his affectionate wife. It occurred on the 8th of July, 1797. Fox proposed that there should be a public funeral and that the body should lie among the illustrious dead in Westminster Abbey. Burke, however, left strict injunctions that his burial should be private. He required that his name and age alone should be inscribed on the tablet that would mark his resting place in the quiet little church at Beaconsfield. With humble piety in his last will he had bequeathed his soul to God, "hoping for His mercy only through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."



BURKE'S LITERARY CHARACTER.

His style. "Burke was so far from being a gaudy or flowing writer that he is one of the severest writers. His words are the most like things; his style is the most strictly suited to the subject. He unites every extreme and every variety of composition; the lowest and the meanest words and descriptions with the highest. He exults in the display of power, in showing the extent, the force, and intensity of his ideas. His stock of ideas did not consist of a few meagre facts, meagrely stated, but his mine of wealth was a profound understanding, inexhaustible as the human heart and various as the sources of human nature. If he sometimes multiplies words, it is not for want of ideas, but because there are no words that fully express his ideas, and he tries to do it as well as he can by different ones. He had nothing of the *set* or formal style, the measured cadence, and stately phraseology of Johnston and most of our modern writers."—*Hazlit*.

"In all its varieties, Burke's style is noble, earnest, deep-flowing, because his sentiment was lofty and fervid, and went with sincerity and ardent, disciplined travail of judgment. He had the style of his subjects, the amplitude, the weightiness, the laboriousness, the sense, the high flight, the grandeur, proper to a man dealing with imperial themes, with the fortunes of great societies, with the sacredness of law, the freedom of nations, the justice of rulers."—*Morley*.

“He is remarkable for the copiousness and freedom of his diction, the splendour and great variety of his imagery, his astonishing command of general truths, and the ease with which he seems to wield those fine weapons of language, which most writers are able to manage only by the most anxious care.”—*Cleveland*.

Powers of Oratory. “His political knowledge was considered almost an encyclopædia. Learning was his ready servant, presenting to his choice all that antiquity had culled or invented. His skill in adapting himself to circumstances could scarcely be surpassed. Every power of oratory was wielded by him in turn. During the same evening he could be pathetic and humorous, acrimonious and conciliating; at one time showing indignation and severity, and at another time calling to his assistance ridicule, wit, and mockery. Prior considers that Burke’s oratorical style is ‘not only of the very highest order, but it possesses the first characteristic of genius—originality.’ He further states that his manner partakes of the grandeur of Cicero, ‘with more of richness, of masculine energy and altogether a greater reach of mind,’ but ‘with less of chastity, of elaborate eloquence or methodical arrangement.’

“His narration of facts is most lucid; the most complicated case he unravels with admirable skill. The arrangement of his topics, without being too formal, is clear and logical. He selects and marshals his arguments with singular art, grouping them in masses, illumining them with historical illustrations, or philosophic reflections, or adorning them with the splendour of description.”—*Robertson*.

His Conservatism. “His aim, therefore, in our domestic policy was to preserve things, in the main, as they are; for the simple reason that under it the nation had become great and prosperous. Not to shut our eyes to abuse—his whole life, he said, had been spent in resisting and repealing abuses—but to amend deliberately and cautiously; to innovate not at all, for innovation was not reformation; to overturn nothing which had the sanction of

time and many happy days in its favour ; to correct and perfect the superstructures, but to leave all the foundations, the antiquity of which was a guarantee of their stability in opinion, sacred and unharmed.”—*Prior*.

“ His principles were altogether averse from a purely democratic constitution of government from the first. He always, indeed, denied that he was a man of aristocratic inclinations, meaning by that, one who favoured the aristocratic more than the popular element in the constitution ; but he no more for all that, ever professed any wish wholly to extinguish the former element than the latter.—*Penny Cyclopædia*.

His Liberalism. The liberal views of Burke are shown in the measures he advocated :—the conciliation of America ; concessions to the Irish legislature ; removal of restrictions on Roman Catholics ; justice and security to India ; liberty of conscience to dissenters ; the suppression of general warrants ; the abolition of the slave trade ; the extension of the power of juries ; publicity of parliamentary debates ; rights of electors in the case of Wilkes ; resistance to harsh claims of the crown or the church ; retrenchment of expenditure without parsimony, and many other important reforms.

His Patriotism. He was no flaming patriot, having early declared in the House of Commons “ that being warned by the ill effects of a contrary procedure, he had taken his ideas of liberty very low, in order that they should stick to him, and that he might stick to them to the end of his life.” Superior to all party considerations, his enlightened patriotism proffered support to the government during the riots of 1780, and brought him forward with irresistible power in the still more fearful crisis of the French revolution. Attached to the monarchy from principle and conviction, while sprung from the middle ranks of the people, he rendered a service never to be forgotten, when one of the greatest movements of modern history threatened to destroy all that is good in the political, moral, and religious institutions of the country.

"He separated himself from his party, and even from his friends and associates with whom he had passed his life, when, whether rightly or wrongly he conceived that a higher duty than that of fidelity to his party-banner called upon him to take that course.—*Craik*."

"He brought to politics a horror of crime, a vivacity and sincerity of conscience, a humanity, a sensibility, which seem only suitable to a young man. He lashed human society on maxims of morality, insisted, on a high and pure tone of feeling in the conduct of public business, and seemed to have undertaken to raise and authorize the generosity of the human heart. He fought nobly for noble causes; against the crimes of power in England, the crimes of the people of France, the crimes of monopolists in India."—*Taine*.

"Burke grew purer and more powerful for good, to his latest moment; he constantly rose more and more above the influence of party, until at last the politician was elevated into the philosopher."—*Croly*.

A Philosophical Statesman. "He was the most scientific of statesmen, and referred habitually to principles. This is his first excellence; and as all his speeches were written under the control of this faculty, and were carefully prepared for the press, they are still valuable though the circumstances and events to which they relate have passed away; at the same time the imagery and illustration in which they abound make them interesting to the literary student. In his political writings he is apt to exaggerate in tone and statement, and occasionally he transgresses the bounds of correct taste. But in various knowledge, in splendid language, in profound philosophical reflection, they are unsurpassed; nor would it be possible to find writings more suggestive of lessons of political sagacity applicable to all time."—*Angus*.

"He possessed and had sedulously sharpened that eye which sees all things, actions, and events, in relation to the laws which determine their existence and circumscribe

their possibility. He referred habitually to principles—he was a scientific statesman.”—*Coleridge*.

Influence. “ There is no political figure of the eighteenth century which retains so enduring an interest, or which repays so amply a careful study, as Edmund Burke. All other statesmen seem to belong wholly to the past ; for although many of their achievements remain, the profound changes that have taken place in the conditions of English political life have destroyed the significance of their policy and their example. A few fine flashes of rhetoric, a few happy epigrams, a few laboured speeches which now seem cold, lifeless and common-place, are all that remain of the Pitts, of Fox, of Sheridan, or of Plunket. But of Burke it may be truly said that there is scarcely any serious political thinker in England who has not learned much from his writings, and whom he has not profoundly influenced either in the way of attraction or in the way of repulsion. As an orator he has been surpassed by some, as a practical politician, he has been surpassed by many, and his judgments of men and things were often deflected by violent passions, by strong antipathies, by party spirit, by exaggerated sensibility, by a strength of imagination and of affection, which continually invested particular objects with a halo of superstitious reverence. But no other politician or writer has thrown the light of so penetrating a genius on the nature and workings of the British constitution, has impressed his principles so deeply on both of the great parties in the State, and has left behind him a richer treasure of political wisdom applicable to all countries and to all times. He had a peculiar gift of introducing into transient party conflicts observations drawn from the most profound knowledge of human nature, of the first principles of government and legislation, and of the more subtle and remote consequences of political institutions, and there is, perhaps, no English prose writer since Bacon, whose works are so thickly starred with thought. The time may come when they will be no longer read. The time will never

come in which men would not grow wiser by reading them."—*Lecky, History of England.*

His leading traits. "There never was a more beautiful alliance between virtue and talents. All his conceptions were grand, all his sentiments generous. The great leading trait of his character and that which gave it all its energy and its colour, was that strong hatred of vice which is no other than the passionate love of virtue. It breathes in all his writings ; it was the guide of all his actions."—*Cazales.*

"Burke, indeed, must be remembered in virtue not only of his speeches, but of his writings on political and social questions, as a very great thinker, comprehensive and versatile in intellect, and deriving an extraordinary power of eloquence from that concrete and imaginative character which belonged distinctively to his manner of thought.—*Spalding.*

"As an orator, his name ranks worthily with that of Cicero ; his patriotism was as ardent as that of Sidney ; as a philosopher he may stand without a blush in the same class as Bacon ; as a philanthropist he can fully bear comparison with Penn."—*Macknight.*

"He had, in the highest degree, that noble faculty whereby man is able to live in the past and in the future, in the distant and in the unreal."—*Macaulay.*

"He is, perhaps, of all writers, the one of whom it may be said, with the strictest truth, that no idea appears hackneyed in his hands, no topic seems commonplace, when he treats it."—*McIntosh.*

Defects. "He was, it may be said, too literary to be a philosopher, and too philosophic to be a politician. His career would seem to illustrate this position. His oratory astounded by its brilliancy rather than persuaded by its tone and argument ; and in the long-run, the eloquence which failed to command the reason, ceased to captivate the ear. Passionate, and in a great degree untractable, he was unsuited for party politics, and drifted from all his con-

nections, breaking up slowly all party ties, and even the ties of friendship, till he reached at last, a state of almost political isolation.—*Chambers' Encyclopædia*.

“Those who insist on charm, on winningness in style, on subtle harmonies and exquisite suggestion, are disappointed in Burke ; they even find him stiff, and over-coloured. And there are blemishes of this kind. His banter is nearly always ungainly, his wit blunt, as Johnson said of it, and very often unreasonable. As is usual with a man who has not true humour, Burke is always without true pathos.”—*Morley*.







THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

—:O:—

Causes of the Revolution. Already during the reign of Louis XIV (1643—1715) the oppressive war taxes, the prodigality of the court and the luxurious lives of the clergy combined to undermine the foundations of national prosperity and freedom. Trammelled with an immense debt, the long inglorious rule of Louis XV (1715—1774) saw the nation gradually giving way to those sentiments of infidelity and licence which prepared the overthrow of all the ancient institutions in the country. The close of the seven years' war left France deprived of her principal colonies, and still further burdened by taxation which even the economy and method of Necker could not relieve. The American war of independence had disseminated republican ideas among the lower orders, while the Assembly of the Notables had freely discussed the incapacity of the government, and the wanton prodigality of the court. Infidel writings of Voltaire and Rousseau had given rise to the wildest views regarding questions of political independence, equal rights, and universal freedom. The nobility were sunk in profligacy, and monopolized the principal share of the national revenue. The clergy were not far behind them in general depravity, while the open corruption and wasteful excesses of many of the higher members of the hierarchy, brought the whole order and even religion into disrepute.

Its Course in France. Such were the influences at work during the early part of the reign of Louis XVI, who succeeded to the throne in 1774. The nobles desired to impose more taxes on the nation. The *tiers état* (the commonality) were determined to inaugurate a thorough and systematic reform. Both were anxious for a meeting of the states. After much opposition on the part of the king, and court, the *états généraux*, which had not met since 1614, assembled at Versailles on the 25th of May, 1789. The resistance made by Louis and his advisers to the reasonable demands of the deputies, led to the constitution of the National Assembly and the declaration of the inviolability of the members. The king retaliated by ordering troops. Then he dissolved his ministry and banished Necker. Then followed insurrectionary movements at Paris, where blood was shed on the 12th of July. The next day the national guard was convoked and on the 14th the people took possession of the Bastille. The acts of Paris were repeated in other parts of France. Feudal rights were abrogated by the National Assembly, and the equality of human rights proclaimed. Royal princes and nobles took to flight, and the royal family, having attempted in vain to follow their example, tried to conciliate the people by the feigned assumption of republican sentiments. On the 5th of October, the rabble followed by the national guard, attacked Versailles, and compelled the king and his family to remove to Paris, whither the Assembly also moved.

During the next two years were witnessed the solemn inauguration and the subsequent retraction of various constitutional schemes. The king alternately made concessions to the democracy and endeavoured to escape from the country. The failure of a war with Austria in 1792 was visited on Louis. An advance of the Prussians into Champagne threw Paris into the wildest excitement. The National Assembly dissolved itself in September. The king was charged with treason and brought to trial in December. On the 20th of January 1793 sentence of death

was passed on him and he was beheaded on the following day. Revolts spread to every part of the country. England, Holland, Spain, Naples and the German States combined against the republic. Christianity was deposed and the worship of reason solemnized. Marie Antoinette, the widowed Queen, was guillotined, and the dauphin and his surviving relatives suffered every possible indignity. Then succeeded a reign of blood and terror, under such men as Danton and Robespierre, who, after condemning countless numbers to the guillotine, suffered each in turn a similar fate. When the people were wearied of bloodshed and anxious for peace, the brilliant exploits of Napoleon Bonaparte in Italy, turned men's thoughts to other channels. The revolution had reached a turning point. A directory was formed to administer the government and the year 1797 saw Bonaparte omnipotent in Italy and rapidly advancing to supreme power in France.

Impressions in England. The conflict of opinion in England regarding the French revolution led to the breaking up of the old distinctions of Whig and Tory. Burke, Fox and Sheridan, from the beginning of the administration of Pitt, had been closely united as the chief leaders of the Whigs. The party of Fox recognized a lawful relation between the English revolution of 1688 and the political convulsions in France. It was, they contended, a struggle for liberty. It would only end in making the king of France subordinate to a ministry responsible to the people. Pitt viewed the movement with marked coolness and with no distrust. To many it was a surprise and a satisfaction to see the "terrible monarchy of France collapse without a blow, and England's hereditary foe deprived, to all appearance, of all power of injury or retaliation." That the new government would favour his liberal commercial views was anticipated by the prime minister. Those who clung to the most liberal interpretation of the revolution of 1688, were pointed out as Jacobins—the title which became identified with all that was most revolting in

the French revolution. Hence the Tories became anti-Jacobins. With them democratic opinions were proscribed and liberty and Jacobinism regarded as synonymous. In parliament the anti-Jacobin cries had little effect. But the majority of the English people did not think all would "culminate in general harmony and regular order." Their cautious good sense, their love of law, their distaste for violent changes and for abstract theories, and their reverence for the past, were rousing throughout the country a dislike of the revolutionary movements across the channel.

Neither side realized as Burke did the magnitude of the event. In his early denunciations of the revolution, he stood almost alone. The word revolution had for a century been sacred to Englishmen. France was still what she had been during the middle ages ; but now feudalism was to be shaken down and trampled to the dust. Conspicuous among the agencies that were at work was the new power of public opinion. Burke saw this, and to public opinion he successfully made his appeal. As he could find no audience in the House of Commons he addressed the nation at large. He recognized what is now obvious enough, that England's policy must depend on a reasonable democracy. Already democracy had become a power. The immorality of many politicians of the day had awakened distrust, and a demand for reform arose. It was a time of great uncertainty as to the future and of general distrust of the existing framework of society. Burke refutes the notion that the revolution in France resembled the English revolution. That of 1688, he held was a revolution not made, but prevented. The French revolution had aiders and abettors in England, who openly avowed their purpose to bring about a similar catastrophe in their own country. Some of these English "sympathisers" were persons long politically hateful to Burke. His aim was not so much to attack the French, as the English revolutionists—not so much to asperse Mirabeau, as Dr. Price and Lord Stanhope.



REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.

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I find a preacher of the gospel profaning the beautiful and prophetic ejaculation, commonly called "*nunc dimittis*," made on the first presentation of our Saviour in the temple, and applying it, with an inhuman and unnatural rapture, to the most horrid, atrocious, and afflicting spectacle that perhaps ever was exhibited to the pity and indignation of mankind. This "*leading in triumph*," a thing in its best form unmanly and irreligious, which fills our preacher with such unhallowed transports, must shock, I believe, the moral taste of every well-born mind. Several English were the stupified and indignant spectators of that triumph. It was (unless we have been strangely deceived) a spectacle more resembling a procession of American savages, entering into Onondaga, after some of their murders, called victories, and leading into hovels hung round with scalps, their captives, overpowered with the scoffs and buffets of women as ferocious as themselves, much more than it resembled the triumphal pomp of a civilized, martial nation;—if a civilized nation, or any men who had a sense of generosity, were capable of a personal triumph over the fallen and afflicted.

This, my dear Sir, was not the triumph of France. I must believe that, as a nation, it overwhelmed you

with shame and horror. I must believe that the National Assembly find themselves in a state of the greatest humiliation in not being able to punish the authors of this triumph or the actors in it ; and that they are in a situation in which any inquiry they may make upon the subject must be destitute even of the appearance of liberty or impartiality. The apology of that assembly is found in their situation ; but when we approve what they *must* bear, it is in us the degenerate choice of a vitiated mind. 25 30

With the compelled appearance of deliberation, they vote under the dominion of a stern necessity. They sit in the heart, as it were, of a foreign republic ; they have their residence in a city whose constitution has emanated neither from the charter of their king, nor from their legislative power. There they are surrounded by an army not raised either by the authority of their crown, or by their command ; and which, if they should order to dissolve itself, would instantly dissolve them. There they sit, after a gang of assassins had driven away some hundreds of the members ; whilst those who held the same moderate principles, with more patience or better hope, continued every day exposed to outrageous insults and murderous threats. There a majority, sometimes real, sometimes pretended, captive itself, compels a captive king to issue as royal edicts, at third hand, the polluted nonsense of their most licentious and giddy coffee-houses. It is notorious, that all their measures are decided before they are debated. It is beyond doubt, that under the terror of the bayonet, and the lamp-post, and the torch to their houses, they are obliged to adopt all the crude and desperate measures suggested by clubs composed of a monstrous medley of all conditions, tongues, and nations. Among these are found persons, in comparison of whom Catiline would be thought scrupulous, and Cethegus a man of sobriety and moderation. Nor is it in these 35 40 45 50 55 60

clubs alone that the public measures are deformed into monsters. They undergo a previous distortion in academies, intended as so many seminaries for these clubs, which are set up in all the places of public resort. In these meetings of all sorts, every counsel, in proportion as it is daring, and violent, and perfidious, is taken for the mark of superior genius. Humanity and compassion are ridiculed as the fruits of superstition and ignorance. Tenderness to individuals is considered as treason to the public. Liberty is always to be estimated perfect as property is rendered insecure. Amidst assassination, massacre, and confiscation, perpetrated or meditated, they are forming plans for the good order of future society. Embracing in their arms the carcasses of base criminals, and promoting their relations on the title of their offences, they drive hundreds of virtuous persons to the same end, by forcing them to subsist by beggary or by crime.

The Assembly, their organ, acts before them the farce of deliberation with as little decency as liberty. They act like the comedians of a fair before a riotous audience ; they act amidst the tumultuous cries of a mixed mob of ferocious men, and of women lost to shame, who, according to their insolent fancies, direct, control, applaud, explode them ; and sometimes mix and take their seats amongst them ; domineering over them with a strange mixture of servile petulance and proud, presumptuous authority. As they have inverted order in all things, the gallery is in the place of the house. This assembly, which overthrows kings and kingdoms, has not even the physiognomy and aspect of a grave legislative body—*nec color imperii, nec frons ulla senatus*. They have a power given to them, like that of the evil principle, to subvert and destroy ; but none to construct, except such machines as may be fitted for further subversion and further destruction.

Who is it that admires, and from the heart is attached to national representative assemblies, but must turn with horror and disgust from such a profane burlesque, and abominable perversion of that sacred institute? Lovers of monarchy, lovers of republics, must alike abhor it. The members of your assembly must themselves groan under the tyranny of which they have all the shame, none of the direction, and little of the profit. I am sure many of the members who compose even the majority of that body must feel as I do, notwithstanding the applauses of the Revolution Society. Miserable king ! miserable assembly ! How must that assembly be silently scandalized with those of their members who could call a day which seemed to blot the sun out of heaven, "*un beau jour !*"¹ How must they be inwardly indignant at hearing others, who thought fit to declare to them, "that the vessel of the state would fly forward in her course towards regeneration with more speed than ever," from the stiff gale of treason and murder, which preceded our preacher's triumph ! What must they have felt, whilst, with outward patience, and inward indignation, they heard of the slaughter of innocent gentlemen in their houses, that "the blood spilled was not the most pure !" What must they have felt when they were besieged by complaints of disorders which shook their country to its foundations, at being compelled coolly to tell the complainants that they were under the protection of the law, and that they would address the king (the captive king) to cause the laws to be enforced for their protection ; when the enslaved ministers of that captive king had formally notified them, that there were neither law, nor authority, nor power left to protect ! What must they have felt at being obliged, as a felicitation on the present new year, to request their captive king to forget the stormy period of the last, on account of the great good which *he* was likely to produce to his people

¹ 6th of October, 1789.

ple ; to the complete attainment of which good they adjourned the practical demonstrations of their loyalty, assuring him of their obedience, when he should no longer possess any authority to command ! 140

This address was made with much good nature and affection, to be sure. But among the revolutions in France must be reckoned a considerable revolution in their ideas of politeness. In England we are said to learn manners at second-hand from your side of the 145 water, and that we dress our behaviour in the frippery of France. If so, we are still in the old cut ; and have not so far conformed to the new Parisian mode of good breeding, as to think it quite in the most refined strain of delicate compliment (whether in condolence or in 150 congratulation) to say, to the most humiliated creature that crawls upon the earth, that great public benefits are derived from the murder of his servants, the attempted assassination of himself and of his wife, and the mortification, disgrace and degradation that he has 155 personally suffered. It is a topic of consolation which our ordinary of Newgate would be too humane to use to a criminal at the foot of the gallows. I should have thought that the hangman of Paris, now that he is liberalized by the vote of the National Assembly, and is al- 160 lowed his rank and arms in the herald's college of the rights of men, would be too generous, too gallant a man, too full of the sense of his new dignity, to employ that cutting consolation to any of the persons whom the *leze nation* might bring under the admin'stration of 165 his *executive power*.

A man is fallen indeed, when he is thus flattered. The anodyne draught of oblivion, thus drugged, is well calculated to preserve a galling wakefulness, and to feed the living ulcer of a corroding memory. Thus to 170 administer the opiate potion of amnesty, powdered with all the ingredients of scorn and contempt, is to hold to his lips, instead of " the balm of hurt minds,"

the cup of human misery full to the brim, and to force him to drink it to the dregs. 175

Yielding to reasons, at least as forcible as those which were so delicately urged in the compliment on the new year, the king of France will probably endeavour to forget those events and that compliment. But history, who keeps a durable record of all our acts, and exercises her awful censure over the proceedings of all sorts of sovereigns, will not forget either those events, or the era of this liberal refinement in the intercourse of mankind. History will record that on the morning of the 6th of October 1789, the king and queen of France, after a day of confusion, alarm, dismay and slaughter, lay down, under the pledged security of public faith, to indulge nature in a few hours of respite, and troubled, melancholy repose. From this sleep, the queen was first startled by the voice of the sentinel at her door, who cried out to her to save herself by flight—that this was the last proof of fidelity he could give—that they were upon him, and he was dead. Instantly he was cut down. A band of cruel ruffians and assassins, reeking with his blood, rushed into the chamber of the queen, and pierced with a hundred strokes of bayonets and poniards, the bed from whence this persecuted woman had but just time to fly almost naked, and, through ways unknown to the murderers, had escaped to seek refuge at the feet of a king and husband, not secure of his own life for a moment. 180 185 190 195 200

This king, to say no more of him, and this queen, and their infant children, (who once would have been the hope and pride of a great and generous people,) were then forced to abandon the sanctuary of the most splendid palace in the world, which they left swimming in blood, polluted by massacre and strewed with scattered limbs and mutilated carcases. Thence they were conducted into the capital of their kingdom. Two had been selected from the unprovoked, unresisted, 205 210

promiscuous slaughter, which was made of the gentlemen of birth and family who composed the king's body-guard. These two gentlemen, with all the parade of an execution of justice, were cruelly and publicly dragged to the block, and beheaded in the great court of the palace. Their heads were stuck upon spears and led the procession ; whilst the royal captives who followed in the train were slowly moved along, amidst the horrid yells and shrilling screams, and frantic dances, and infamous contumelies, and all the unutterable abominations of the furies of hell, in the abused shape of the vilest of women. After they had been made to taste, drop by drop, more than the bitterness of death, in the slow torture of a journey of twelve miles, protracted to six hours, they were, under a guard, composed of those very soldiers who had thus conducted them through this famous triumph, lodged in one of the old palaces of Paris, now converted into a bastille for kings.

Is this a triumph to be consecrated at altars ? to be commemorated with grateful thanksgiving ? to be offered to the divine humanity with fervent prayer and enthusiastic ejaculation ? — These Theban and Thracian orgies, acted in France, and applauded only in the Old Jewry, I assure you, kindle prophetic enthusiasm in the minds but of very few people in this kingdom : although a saint and apostle, who may have revelations of his own, and who has so completely vanquished all the mean superstitions of the heart, may incline to think it pious and decorous to compare it with the entrance into the world of the Prince of Peace, proclaimed in a holy temple by a venerable sage, and not long before not worse announced by the voice of angels to the quiet innocence of shepherds.

At first I was at a loss to account for this fit of unguarded transport. I knew, indeed, that the sufferings of monarchs make a delicious repast for some sort of palates. There were reflections which might serve to

keep this appetite within some bounds of temperance.
 But when I took one circumstance into my considera-
 tion, I was obliged to confess, that much allowance 250
 ought to be made for the society, and that the tempta-
 tion was too strong for common discretion ; I mean, the
 circumstance of the Io Pæan of the triumph, the ani-
 mating cry which called "for *all* the BISHOPS to be
 hanged on the lamp-posts,"¹ might well have brought 255
 forth a burst of enthusiasm on the foreseen consequen-
 ces of this happy day. I allow to so much enthusiasm
 some little deviation from prudence. I allow this
 prophet to break forth into hymns of joy and thanks-
 giving on an event which appears like the precursor of 260
 the Millenium, and the projected fifth monarchy, in
 the destruction of all church establishments. There
 was, however, (as in all human affairs there is,) in the
 midst of this joy, something to exercise the patience of
 these worthy gentlemen, and to try the long-suffering 265
 of their faith. The actual murder of the king and queen,
 and their child, was wanting to the other auspicious
 circumstances of this "*beautiful day*." The actual mur-
 der of the bishops, though called for by so many holy
 ejaculations, was also wanting. A group of regicide 270
 and sacrilegious slaughter, was indeed boldly sketched,
 but it was only sketched. It unhappily was left unfin-
 ished in this great history-piece of the massacre of in-
 nocents. What hardy pencil of a great master, from
 the school of the rights of men, will finish it, is to be 275
 seen hereafter. The age has not yet the complete bene-
 fit of that diffusion of knowledge that has undermined
 superstition and error ; and the king of France wants
 another object or two to consign to oblivion, in consid-
 eration of all the good which is to arise from his own 280

1 Tous les Evêques à la lanterne.

sufferings, and the patriotic crimes of an enlightened age.¹

¹ It is proper here to refer to a letter written upon this subject by an eye-witness. That eye-witness was one of the most honest, intelligent, and eloquent members of the National Assembly, one of the most active and zealous reformers of the state. He was obliged to secede from the assembly; and he afterwards became a voluntary exile, on account of the horrors of this pious triumph, and the dispositions of men who, profiting of crimes, if not causing them, have taken the lead in public affairs.

Extract of M. de Lally Tollendal's Second Letter to a Friend.

“ Parlons du parti que j'ai pris : il est bien justifié dans ma conscience — Ni cette ville coupable, ni cette assemblée plus coupable encore, ne méritoient que je me justifie; mais j'ai à cœur que vous, et les personnes qui pensent comme vous, ne me condamnent pas. — Ma sœur, je vous jure, me rendoit mes fonctions impossibles; mais même en les mettant de côté il a été au-dessus de mes forces de supporter plus longtemps l'horreur que me causoit ce sang. — ces têtes — cette reine *presque égorgée*, ce roi, — amené *esclave*, — entrant à Paris, au milieu de ses assassins, et entouré des têtes de ses malheureux grades — ces perfides jacobins, ces assassins, ces femmes cannibales, ce cri de tous les ÉVÊQUES A LA LANTERNE, dans le moment où le roi entre sa capitale avec deux évêques de son conseil dans sa voiture — un *coup de fusil*, que j'ai vu tirer dans un des *caissons de la reine*. M. Bailly appelant cela un *beau jour* — l'assemblée ayant déclaré froidement le matin, qu'il n'étoit pas de sa dignité d'aller toute entière environner le roi — M. Mirabeau disant impunément dans cette assemblée que le vaisseau de l'état, lors d'être arrêté dans sa course, s'élanceroit avec plus de rapidité que jamais vers sa régénération — M. Barnave, étant avec lui, quand des flots de sang coulaient autour de nous — le vertueux Mounier* échappant par miracle à vingt assassins, qui avoient voulu faire de sa tête un trophée de plus : Voilà ce qui me fit jurer de ne plus mettre le pied dans cette *caverne d'antropophages* [the National Assembly] où je n'avois plus de force d'élever la voix, où depuis six semaines je l'avois élevée en vain.

“ Moi, Mounier, et tous les hommes gens, ont pensé que le dernier effort à faire pour le bien étoit d'en sortir. Aucune idée de crainte ne s'est approchée de moi. Je rongerois de m'en défendre. J'avois encore reçu sur la route de la part de ce peuple, moins coupable que ceux qui l'ont enivré de fureur, des acclamations, et des applaudissements, dont d'autres auroient été flattés et qui m'ont fait frémir. C'est à l'indignation, c'est à l'horreur, c'est aux convulsions physiques, que le seul aspect du sang me fait éprouver que j'ai cédé. On brave une seule mort; on la brave plusieurs fois, quand elle peut être utile. Mais aucune puissance sous le Ciel, mais aucune opinion publique ou privée n'ont le droit de me condamner à souffrir inutilement mille supplices par minute, et à périr de désespoir, de rage, au milieu des *triumphes*, du crime que je n'ai pu arrêter. Ils me proscrirent, ils confisqueront mes biens. Je labourerai la terre et je ne les verrai plus. — Voilà ma justification. Vous pourrez la lire, la montrer, la laisser copier; tant pis pour ceux qui ne la comprendront pas; ce ne sera alors moi qui aurai eu tort de leur donner.”

This military man had not so good nerves as the peaceable gentleman of the Old Jewry. — See Mons. Mounier's narrative of these transactions; a man also of honour, and virtue and talents, and therefore a fugitive.

* N. B. Mr. Mounier was then speaker of the National Assembly. He has since been obliged to live in exile, though one of the firmest assertors of liberty.

Although this work of our new light and knowledge 340
 did not go to the length that in all probability it was
 intended it should be carried, yet I must think that
 such treatment of any human creatures must be shock-
 ing to any but those who are made for accomplishing
 Revolutions. But I cannot stop here. Influenced by 345
 the inborn feelings of my nature, and not being illumi-
 nated by a single ray of this new-sprung modern light,
 I confess to you, Sir, that the exalted rank of the per-
 sons suffering, and particularly the sex, the beauty,
 and the amiable qualities of the descendant of so many 350
 kings and emperors, with the tender age of royal in-
 fants, insensible only through infancy and innocence
 of the cruel outrages to which their parents were ex-
 posed, instead of being a subject of exultation, adds
 not a little to my sensibility on that most melancholy 355
 occasion.

I hear that the august person, who was the principal
 object of our preacher's triumph, though he supported
 himself, felt much on that shameful occasion. As a
 man, it became him to feel for his wife and his children, 360
 and the faithful guards of his person, that were mas-
 saced in cold blood about him ; as a prince, it became
 him to feel for the strange and frightful transformation
 of his civilized subjects, and to be more grieved for
 them than solicitous for himself. It derogates little 365
 from his fortitude, while it adds infinitely to the hon-
 our of his humanity. I am very sorry to say it, very
 sorry indeed, that such personages are in a situation in
 which it is not unbecoming in us to praise the virtues of
 the great. 370

I hear, and I rejoice to hear, that the great lady, the
 other object of the triumph, has borne that day (one
 is interested that beings made for suffering should
 suffer well), and that she bears all the succeeding days,
 that she bears the imprisonment of her husband, and 375
 her own captivity, and the exile of her friends, and the

insulting adulation of addresses, and the whole weight of her accumulated wrongs, with a serene patience, in a manner suited to her rank and race, and becoming the offspring of a sovereign distinguished for her piety 380 and her courage : that, like her, she has lofty sentiments ; that she feels with the dignity of a Roman matron ; that in the last extremity she will save herself from the last disgrace ; and that, if she must fall, she will fall by no ignoble hand. 385

It is now sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the queen of France, then the dauphiness, at Versailles, and surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the 390 elevated sphere she just began to move in,—glittering like the morning-star, full of life, and splendour, and joy. Oh ! what a revolution ! and what a heart must I have to contemplate without emotion that elevation and that fall ! Little did I dream when she added 395 titles of veneration to those of enthusiastic, distant, respectful love, that she should ever be obliged to carry the sharp antidote against disgrace concealed in that bosom ; little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her in a nation of gallant 400 men, in a nation of men of honour, and of cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look that threatened her with insult. But the age of chivalry is gone. That of sophisters, economists, and calculators, has 405 succeeded ; and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever. Never, never more shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, 410 the spirit of an exalted freedom. The unbought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise, is gone ! It is gone,

that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage 415 whilst it mitigated ferocity, which ennobled whatever it touched, under which vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness.

This mixed system of opinion and sentiment had its origin in the ancient chivalry; and the principle, 420 though varied in its appearance by the varying state of human affairs, subsisted and influenced through a long succession of generations, even to the time we live in. If it should ever be totally extinguished, the loss I fear will be great. It is this which has given its 425 character to modern Europe. It is this which has distinguished it under all its forms of government, and distinguished it to its advantage, from the states of Asia, and possibly from those states which flourished in the most brilliant periods of the antique world. It 430 was this, which, without confounding ranks, had produced a noble equality, and handed it down through all the gradations of social life. It was this opinion which mitigated kings into companions, and raised private men to be fellows with kings. Without force 435 or opposition, it subdued the fierceness of pride and power; it obliged sovereigns to submit to the soft collar of social esteem, compelled stern authority to submit to elegance, and gave a dominating vanquisher of laws to be subdued by manners. 440

But now all is to be changed. All the pleasing illusions, which made power gentle and obedience liberal, which harmonized the different shades of life, and which by a bland assimilation, incorporated into politics 445 the sentiments which beautify and soften private society, are to be dissolved by this new conquering empire of light and reason. All the decent drapery of life is to be rudely torn off. All the super-added ideas, furnished from the wardrobe of moral imagination, which the heart owns, and the understanding 450

ratifies, as necessary to cover the defects of our naked, shivering nature, and to raise it to dignity in our own estimation, are to be exploded as a ridiculous, absurd, and antiquated fashion.

On this scheme of things, a king is but a man, a queen is but a woman ; a woman is but an animal, and an animal not of the highest order. All homage paid to the sex in general as such, and without distinct views, is to be regarded as romance and folly. Regicide, and parricide, and sacrilege, are but fictions of superstition, corrupting jurisprudence by destroying its simplicity. The murder of a king, or a queen, or a bishop, or a father, are only common homicide : and if the people are by any chance, or in any way, gainers by it, a sort of homicide much the most pardonable. and into which we ought not to make too severe a scrutiny.

On the scheme of this barbarous philosophy, which is the offspring of cold hearts and muddy understandings, and which is as void of solid wisdom as it is destitute of all taste and elegance, laws are to be supported only by their own terrors, and by the concern which each individual may find in them from his own private speculations, or can spare to them from his own private interests. In the groves of *their* academy, at the end of every vista, you see nothing but the gallows. Nothing is left which engages the affections on the part of the commonwealth. On the principles of this mechanic philosophy, our institutions can never be embodied, if I may use the expression, in persons ; so as to create in us love, veneration, admiration, or attachment. But that sort of reason which banishes the affections is incapable of filling their place. These public affections, combined with manners, are required sometimes as supplements, sometimes as correctives, always as aids to law. The precept given by a wise man, as well as a great critic, for the construction of

poems, is equally true as to states :—*Non satis est pulchra esse poemata, dulcia sunt.* There ought to be a system of manners in every nation, which a well-formed 490 mind would be disposed to relish. To make us love our country, our country ought to be lovely.

But power, of some kind or other, will survive the shock in which manners and opinions perish ; and it will find other and worse means for its support. The 495 usurpation which, in order to subvert ancient institutions, has destroyed ancient principles, will hold power by arts similar to those by which it has acquired it. When the old feudal and chivalrous spirit of *fealty*, which, by freeing kings from fear, freed both kings 500 and subjects from the precautions of tyranny, shall be extinct in the minds of men, plots and assassinations will be anticipated by preventive murder and preventive confiscation, and that long roll of grim and bloody maxims, which form the political code of all power, 505 not standing on its own honour, and the honour of those who are to obey it. Kings will be tyrants from policy, when subjects are rebels from principle.

When ancient opinions and rules of life are taken away, the loss cannot possibly be estimated. From 510 that moment we have no compass to govern us ; nor can we know distinctly to what port we steer. Europe, undoubtedly, taken in a mass, was in a flourishing condition the day on which your revolution was completed. How much of that prosperous state was owing to the 515 spirit of our old manners and opinions is not easy to say ; but as such causes cannot be indifferent in their operation, we must presume, that, on the whole, their operation was beneficial.

We are but too apt to consider things in the state in 520 which we find them, without sufficiently adverting to the causes by which they have been produced, and possibly may be upheld. Nothing is more certain, than that our manners, our civilization, and all the

good things which are connected with manners and 525
 with civilization, have, in this European world of ours,
 depended for ages upon two principles ; and were in-
 deed the result of both combined ; I mean the spirit of
 a gentleman, and the spirit of religion. The nobility
 and the clergy, the one by profession, the other by 530
 patronage, kept learning in existence, even in the
 midst of arms and confusions, and whilst governments
 were rather in their causes, than formed. Learning
 paid back what it received to nobility and to priest-
 hood ; and paid it with usury, by enlarging their 535
 ideas, and by furnishing their minds. Happy if they
 had all continued to know their indissoluble union, and
 their proper place ! Happy if learning, not debauched
 by ambition, had been satisfied to continue the instruc-
 tor, and not aspired to be the master ! Along with its 540
 natural protectors and guardians, learning will be cast
 into the mire, and trodden down under the hoofs of a
 swinish multitude.¹

If, as I suspect, modern letters owe more than they
 are always willing to own to ancient manners, so do 545
 other interests which we value full as much as they
 are worth. Even commerce, and trade, and manu-
 facture, the gods of our economical politicians, are
 themselves but effects, which, as first causes, we choose
 to worship. They certainly grew under the same 550
 shade in which learning flourished. They too may
 decay with their natural protecting principles. With
 you, for the present at least, they all threaten to dis-
 appear together. Where trade and manufactures are
 wanting to a people, and the spirit of nobility and religion 555
 remains, sentiment supplies, and not always ill supplies,
 their place ; but if commerce and the arts should be
 lost in an experiment to try how well a state may

¹ See the fate of Bailly and Condorcet, supposed to be here particu-
 larly alluded to. Compare the circumstances of the trial and execution 560
 of the former with this prediction.

stand without these old fundamental principles, what sort of a thing must be a nation of gross, stupid, ferocious, and, at the same time, poor and sordid, barbarians, destitute of religion, honour, or manly pride, 565 possessing nothing at present, and hoping for nothing hereafter?

I wish you may not be going fast, and by the shortest cut, to that horrible and disgusting situation. Already there appears a poverty of conception, a 570 coarseness and vulgarity, in all the proceedings of the Assembly and of all their instructors. Their liberty is not liberal. Their science is presumptuous ignorance. Their humanity is savage and brutal.

It is not clear, whether in England we learned those 575 grand and decorous principles and manners, of which considerable traces yet remain, from you, or whether you took them from us. But to you, I think, we trace them best. You seem to me to be—*gentis incunabula nostræ*. France has always more or less influenced man- 580 ners in England; and when your fountain is choked up and polluted, the stream will not run long, or not run clear, with us, or perhaps with any nation. This gives all Europe, in my opinion, but too close and connected a concern in what is done in France. Excuse 585 me, therefore, if I have dwelt too long on the atrocious spectacle of the 6th of October, 1789, or have given too much scope to the reflections which have arisen in my mind on occasion of the most important of all revolutions, which may be dated from that day, I mean a re- 590 volution in sentiments, manners, and moral opinions. As things now stand, with everything respectable destroyed without us, and an attempt to destroy within us every principle of respect, one is almost forced to apologize for harbouring the common feelings of men. 595

Why do I feel so differently from the Reverend Dr. Price, and those of his lay flock who will choose to adopt the sentiments of his discourse?—For this plain reason

—because it is *natural* I should ; because we are so made, as to be affected at such spectacles with melancholy 600 sentiments upon the unstable condition of mortal prosperity, and the tremendous uncertainty of human greatness ; because in those natural feelings we learn great lessons ; because in events like these our passions instruct our reason ; because when kings are hurled from 605 their thrones by the Supreme Director of this great drama, and become the objects of insult to the base, and of pity to the good, we behold such disasters in the moral, as we should behold a miracle in the physical, order of things. We are alarmed into reflection ; our 610 minds (as it has long since been observed) are purified by terror and pity ; our weak, unthinking pride is humbled under the dispensations of a mysterious wisdom. Some tears might be drawn from me, if such a spectacle were exhibited on the stage. I should be truly 615 ashamed of finding in myself that superficial, theatric sense of painted distress, whilst I could exult over it in real life. With such a perverted mind, I could never venture to show my face at a tragedy. People would think the tears that Garrick formerly, or that Siddons 620 not long since, have extorted from me, were the tears of hypocrisy ; I should know them to be the tears of folly.

Indeed the theatre is a better school of moral sentiments than churches, where the feelings of humanity are thus outraged. Poets who have to deal with an audi- 625 ence not yet graduated in the school of the rights of men, and who must apply themselves to the moral constitution of the heart, would not dare to produce such a triumph as a matter of exultation. There, where men follow their natural impulses, they would not bear the 630 odious maxims of a Machiavelian policy, whether applied to the attainment of monarchical or democratic tyranny. They would reject them on the modern, as they once did on the ancient stage, where they could not bear even the hypothetical proposition of such wicked- 635

ness in the mouth of a personated tyrant, though suitable to the character he sustained. No theatric audience in Athens would bear what has been borne, in the midst of the real tragedy of this triumphal day; a principal actor weighing, as it were in scales hung in a shop of horrors,—so much actual crime against so much contingent advantage,—and after putting in and out weights, declaring that the balance was on the side of the advantages. They would not bear to see the crimes of new democracy posted as in a ledger against the crimes of old despotism, and the book-keepers of politics finding democracy still in debt, but by no means unable or unwilling to pay the balance. In the theatre, the first intuitive glance, without any elaborate process of reasoning, will show, that this method of political computation would justify every extent of crime. They would see, that on these principles, even where the very worst acts were not perpetrated, it was owing rather to the fortune of the conspirators, than to their parsimony in the expenditure of treachery and blood. They would soon see, that criminal means once tolerated are soon preferred. They present a shorter cut to the object than through the highway of the moral virtues. Justifying perfidy and murder for public benefit, public benefit would soon become the pretext, and perfidy and murder the end: until rapacity, malice, revenge, and fear more dreadful than revenge, could satiate their insatiable appetites. Such must be the consequences of losing, in the splendour of these triumphs of the rights of men, all natural sense of wrong and right.

But the reverend pastor exults in this “leading in triumph,” because truly Louis the Sixteenth was “an arbitrary monarch;” that is, in other words, neither more nor less than because he was Louis the Sixteenth, and because he had the misfortune to be born king of France, with the prerogatives of which, a long line of ancestors, and a long acquiescence of the people,

without any act of his, had put him in possession. A misfortune it has indeed turned out to him, that he was born king of France. But misfortune is not crime, nor 675 is indiscretion always the greatest guilt. I shall never think that a prince, the acts of whose whole reign were a series of concessions to his subjects, who was willing to relax his authority, to remit his prerogatives, to call his people to a share of freedom, not known, perhaps 680 not desired, by their ancestors ; such a prince, though he should be subjected to the common frailties attached to men and to princes, though he should have once thought it necessary to provide force against the desperate esigns manifestly carrying on against his per- 685 son, and the remnants of his authority ; though all this should be taken into consideration. I shall be led with great difficulty to think he deserves the cruel and insulting triumph of Paris, and of Dr. Price. I tremble for the cause of liberty, from such an example to kings, 690 I tremble for the cause of humanity, in the unpunished outrages of the most wicked of mankind. But there are some people of that low and degenerate fashion of mind, that they look up with a sort of complacent awe and admiration to kings, who know to keep firm in their 695 seat, to hold a strict hand over their subjects, to assert their prerogative, and, by the awakened vigilance of a severe despotism, to guard against the very first approaches of freedom. Against such as these they never elevate their voice. Deserters from principle, listed 700 with fortune, they never see any good in suffering virtue, nor any crime in prosperous usurpation.

If it could have been made clear to me, that the king and queen of France (those I mean who were such before the triumph) were inexorable and cruel tyrants, 705 that they had formed a deliberate scheme for massacring the National Assembly, (I think I have seen something like the latter insinuated in certain publications,) I should think their captivity just. If this be true,

much more ought to have been done, but done, in my 710
 opinion, in another manner. The punishment of real
 tyrants is a noble and awful act of justice; and it has
 with truth been said to be consolatory to the human
 mind. But if I were to punish a wicked king, I should
 regard the dignity in avenging the crime. Justice is 715
 grave and decorous, and in its punishments rather seems
 to submit to a necessity, than to make a choice. Had
 Nero, or Agrippina, or Louis the Eleventh, or Charles
 the Ninth, been the subject; if Charles the Twelfth of
 Sweden, after the murder of Patkul, or his predecessor 720
 Christina, after the murder of Monaldeschi, had fallen
 into your hands, Sir, or into mine, I am sure our con-
 duct would have been different.

If the French king, or king of the French, (or by
 whatever name he is known in the new vocabulary of 725
 your constitution,) has in his own person, and that of
 his queen, really deserved these unavowed, but un-
 avenged, murderous attempts, and those frequent in-
 dignities more cruel than murder, such a person would
 ill deserve even that subordinate executory trust, which 730
 I understand is to be placed in him; nor is he fit to be
 called chief in a nation which he has outraged and op-
 pressed. A worse choice for such an office in a new
 commonwealth, than that of a deposed tyrant, could
 not possibly be made. But to degrade and insult a 735
 man as the worst of criminals, and afterwards to trust
 him in your highest concerns, as a faithful, honest,
 and zealous servant, is not consistent with reasoning,
 nor prudent in policy, nor safe in practice. Those who
 could make such an appointment must be guilty of a 740
 more flagrant breach of trust than any they have yet
 committed against the people. As this is the only
 crime in which your leading politicians could have
 acted inconsistently, I conclude that there is no sort of
 ground for these horrid insinuations. I think no bet- 745
 ter of all the other calumnies.

In England, we give no credit to them. We are generous enemies : we are faithful allies. We spurn from us with disgust and indignation the slanders of those who bring us their anecdotes with the attestation of the flower-de-luce on their shoulders. We have Lord George Gordon fast in Newgate ; and neither his being a public proselyte to Judaism, nor his having, in his zeal against catholic priests and all sorts of ecclesiastics, raised a mob (excuse the term, it is still in use here) which pulled down all our prisons, have preserved to him a liberty; of which he did not render himself worthy by a virtuous use of it. We have rebuilt Newgate, and tenanted the mansion. We have prisons almost as strong as the Bastile, for those who dare to libel the queens of France. In this spiritual retreat, let the noble libeller remain. Let him there meditate on his Thalmud, until he learns a conduct more becoming his birth and parts, and not so disgraceful to the ancient religion to which he has become a proselyte ; or until some persons from your side of the water, to please your new Hebrew brethren, shall ransom him. He may then be enabled to purchase, with the old heards of the synagogue, and a very small poundage on the long compound interest of the thirty pieces of silver, (Dr. Price has shown us what miracles compound interest will perform in 1790 years), the lands which are lately discovered to have been usurped by the Gallican church. Send us your Popish archbishop of Paris, and we will send you our Protestant Rabbin. We shall treat the person you send us in exchange like a gentleman and an honest man, as he is ; but pray let him bring with him the fund of his hospitality, bounty, and charity ; and, depend upon it, we shall never confiscate a shilling of that honourable and pious fund, nor think of enriching the treasury with the spoils of the poor-box.

To tell you the truth, my dear Sir, I think the honour of our nation to be somewhat concerned in the

disclaimer of the proceedings of this society of the Old Jewry and the London Tavern. I have no man's proxy. I speak only for myself, when I disclaim, as I do with all possible earnestness, all communion with the actors in that triumph, or with the admirers of it. When I assert anything else, as concerning the people of England, I speak from observation, not from authority; but I speak from the experience I have had in a pretty extensive and mixed communication with the inhabitants of this kingdom, of all descriptions and ranks, and after a course of attentive observation, began early in life, and continued for nearly forty years. I have often been astonished, considering that we are divided from you but by a slender dyke of about twenty-four miles, and that the mutual intercourse between the two countries has lately been very great, to find how little you seem to know of us. I suspect that this is owing to your forming a judgment of this nation from certain publications, which do, very erroneously, if they do at all, represent the opinions and dispositions generally prevalent in England. The vanity, restlessness, petulance, and spirit of intrigue, of several petty cabals, who attempt to hide their total want of consequence in bustle and noise, and puffing, and mutual quotation of each other, make you imagine that our contemptuous neglect of their abilities is a mark of general acquiescence in their opinions. No such thing, I assure you. Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink, whilst thousands of great cattle, reposed beneath the shadow of the British oak, chew the cud and are silent, pray do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field; that, of course, they are many in number; or that, after all, they are other than the little, shrivelled, meagre, hopping, though loud and troublesome, insects of the hour.

I almost venture to affirm, that not one in a hundred amongst us participates in the "triumph" of the Revolution Society. If the king and queen of France, and their children, were to fall into our hands by the chance of war, in the most acrimonious of all hostilities, (I deprecate such an event, I deprecate such hostility), they would be treated with another sort of triumphal entry into London. We formerly have had a king of France in that situation; you have read how he was treated by the victor in the field; and in what manner he was afterwards received in England. Four hundred years have gone over us; but I believe we are not materially changed since that period. Thanks to our sullen resistance to innovation, thanks to the cold sluggishness of our national character, we still bear the stamp of our forefathers. We have not (as I conceive) lost the generosity and dignity of thinking of the fourteenth century; nor as yet have we subtilized ourselves into savages. We are not the converts of Rousseau; we are not the disciples of Voltaire; Helvetius has made no progress amongst us. Atheists are not our preachers; madmen are not our lawgivers. We know that *we* have made no discoveries, and we think that no discoveries are to be made, in morality; nor many in the great principles of government, nor in the ideas of liberty, which were understood long before we were born, altogether as well as they will be after the grave has heaped its mould upon our presumption, and the silent tomb shall have imposed its law on our pert loquacity. In England we have not yet been completely embowelled of our natural entrails; we still feel within us, and we cherish and cultivate, those inbred sentiments which are the faithful guardians, the active monitors of our duty, the true supporters of all liberal and manly morals. We have not been drawn and trussed, in order that we may be filled, like stuffed birds in a museum, with chaff and rags and paltry

blurred shreds of paper about the rights of man. We preserve the whole of our feelings still native and entire, unsophisticated by pedantry and infidelity. We fear God ; we look up with awe to kings ; with affection to parliaments ; with duty to magistrates ; with reverence to priests ; and with respect to nobility.¹ Why ! Because when such ideas are brought before our minds, it is *natural* to be so affected ; because all other feelings are false and spurious, and tend to corrupt our minds, to vitiate our primary morals, to render us unfit for rational liberty ; and by teaching us a servile, licentious, and abandoned insolence, to be our low sport for a few holidays, to make us perfectly fit for, and justly deserving of, slavery, through the whole course of our lives.

You see, Sir, that in this enlightened age I am bold enough to confess, that we are generally men of untaught feelings ; that instead of casting away all our old prejudices, we cherish them to a very considerable degree, and, to take more shame to ourselves, we cherish them because they are prejudices ; and the longer they have lasted, and the more generally they have prevailed, the more we cherish them. We are afraid to put men to live and trade each on his own private stock of reason ; because we suspect that this stock in each man is small, and that the individuals would do better to avail themselves of the general bank and capital of nations and of ages. Many of our men of speculation, instead of exploding general prejudices, employ their sagacity to discover the latent wisdom

¹ The English are, I conceive, misrepresented in a letter published in one of the papers, by a gentleman thought to be a dissenting minister. —When writing to Dr. Price of the spirit which prevails at Paris, he says, “The spirit of the people in this place has abolished all the proud distinctions which the *king* and *nobles* had usurped in their minds ; whether they talk of the *king*, the *noble*, or the *priest*, their whole language is that of the most enlightened and liberal amongst the English.” If this gentleman means to confine the terms *enlightened* and *liberal* to one set of men in England, it may be true. It is not generally so.

which prevails in them. If they find what they seek, and they seldom fail, they think it more wise to con- 900
 tinue the prejudice, with the reason involved, than to
 cast away the coat of prejudice, and to leave nothing
 but the naked reason ; because prejudice, with its rea-
 son, has a motive to give action to that reason, and an
 affection which will give it permanence. Prejudice is 905
 of ready application in the emergency ; it previously
 engages the mind in a steady course of wisdom and vir-
 tue, and does not leave the man hesitating in the
 moment of decision, sceptical, puzzled, and unresolved.
 Prejudice renders a man's virtue his habit ; and not a 910
 series of unconnected acts. Through just prejudice,
 his duty becomes a part of his nature.

Your literary men, and your politicians, and so do
 the whole clan of the enlightened among us, essentially
 differ in these points. They have no respect for the 915
 wisdom of others ; but they pay it off by a very full
 measure of confidence in their own. With them it is a
 sufficient motive to destroy an old scheme of things,
 because it is an old one. As to the new, they are in
 no sort of fear with regard to the duration of a build- 920
 ing run up in haste ; because duration is no object to
 those who think little or nothing has been done before
 their time, and who place all their hopes in discovery.
 They conceive, very systematically, that all things
 which give perpetuity are mischievous, and therefore 925
 they are at inexorable war with all establishments.
 They think that government may vary like modes of
 dress, and with as little ill effect ; that their needs no
 principle of attachment, except a sense of present con-
 veniency, to any constitution of the state. They 930
 always speak as if they were of opinion that there is a
 singular species of compact between them and their
 magistrates, which binds the magistrate, but which has
 nothing reciprocal in it, but that the majesty of the
 people has a right to dissolve it without any reason, 935

but its will. Their attachment to their country itself is only so far as it agrees with some of their fleeting projects; it begins and ends with that scheme of polity which falls in with their momentary opinion.

These doctrines, or rather sentiments, seem prevalent 940 with your new statesmen. But they are wholly different from those on which we have always acted in this country.

I hear it is sometimes given out in France, that what is doing among you is after the example of England. 945 I beg leave to affirm, that scarcely anything done with you has originated from the practice or the prevalent opinions of this people, either in the act or in the spirit of the proceeding. Let me add, that we are as unwilling to learn these lessons from France, as we are sure 950 that we never taught them to that nation. The cabals here, who take a sort of share in your transactions, as yet consist of but a handful of people. If unfortunately by their intrigues, their sermons, their publications, and by a confidence derived from an expected union 955 with the counsels and forces of the French nation, they should draw considerable numbers into their faction, and in consequence should seriously attempt anything here in imitation of what has been done with you, the event, I dare venture to prophesy, will be, that, with 960 some trouble to their country they will soon accomplish their own destruction. This people refused to change their law in remote ages from respect to the infallibility of popes; and they will not now alter it from a pious implicit faith in the dogmatism of philosophers; 965 though the former was armed with the anathema and crusade, and though the latter should act with the libel and the lamp-iron.

Formerly your affairs were your own concern only. We felt for them as men; but we kept aloof from them, 970 because we were not citizens of France. But when we see the model held up to ourselves, we must feel as Eng-

fishmen, and feeling, we must provide as Englishmen. Your affairs, in spite of us, are made a part of our interest ; so far at least as to keep at a distance your 972 panacea, or your plague. If it be a panacea, we do not want it. We know the consequences of unnecessary physic. If it be a plague, it is such a plague that the precautions of the most severe quarantine ought to be established against it. 980

I hear on all hands that a cabal, calling itself philosophic, receives the glory of many of the late proceedings ; and that their opinions and systems are the true actuating spirit of the whole of them. I have heard of no party in England, literary or political, at any time, 985 known by such a description. It is not with you composed of those men, is it ? whom the vulgar, in their blunt, homely style, commonly call atheists and infidels ? If it be, I admit that we too have had writers of that description, who made some noise in their day. 990 At present they repose in lasting oblivion. Who, born within the last forty years, has read one word of Collins, and Toland, and Tindal, and Chubb, and Morgan, and that whole race who called themselves Free-thinkers ? Who now reads Bolingbroke ? Who ever 995 read him through ? Ask the booksellers of London what is become of all these lights of the world. In a few years their few successors will go to the family vault of "all the Capulets." But whatever they were, or are, with us, they were and are wholly uncon-1000 nected individuals. With us they kept the common nature of their kind, and were not gregarious. They never acted in corps, or were known as a faction in the state, nor presumed to influence in that name or character, or for the purposes of such a faction, on any of 1005 our public concerns. Whether they ought so to exist, and so be permitted to act, is another question. As such cabals have not existed in England, so neither has the spirit of them had any influence in establishing

the original frame of our constitution, or in any one of the several reparations and improvements it has undergone. The whole has been done under the auspices, and is confirmed by the sanctions, of religion and piety. The whole has emanated from the simplicity of our national character, and from a sort of native plainness and directness of understanding, which for a long time characterized those men who have successfully obtained authority amongst us. This disposition still remains ; at least in the great body of the people.

We know, and what is better, we feel inwardly, that religion is the basis of civil society, and the source of all good and of all comfort.¹ In England we are so convinced of this, that there is no rust of superstition, with which the accumulated absurdity of the human mind might have crusted it over in the course of ages, that ninety-nine in a hundred of the people of England would not prefer to impiety. We shall never be such fools as to call in an enemy to the substance of any system to remove its corruptions, to supply its defects, or to perfect its construction. If our religious tenets should ever want a further elucidation, we shall not call on atheism to explain them. We shall not light up our temple from that unhallowed fire. It will be illuminated with other lights. It will be perfumed with other incense, than the infectious stuff which is imported by the smugglers of adulterated metaphysics. If our ecclesiastical establishment should want a revision, it is not avarice or rapacity, public or private, that we shall employ for the audit, or receipt, or application of its consecrated revenue. Violently condemn-

¹ Sit igitur hoc ab initio persuasum civibus, dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores, deos ; eaque, quæ gerantur, eorum geri videri, ac numine ; eodemque ordine de rebus hominum mereri ; et qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qui men e, qua pietate colat religiones intueri ; porum et in bonum habere rationem. His enim rebus inbite mentes huius sane abhorrebunt ab utili et a vera sententia. Cic. de Legibus. l. 2.

ing neither the Greek nor the Armenian, nor, since heats are subsided, the Roman system of religion, we prefer the Protestant; not because we think it has less¹⁰⁵⁰ of the Christian religion in it, but because, in our judgment, it has more. We are Protestants, not from indifference, but from zeal.

We know, and it is our pride to know, that man is by his constitution a religious animal; that atheism is¹⁰⁵⁵ against, not only our reason, but our instincts; and that it cannot prevail long. But if, in the moment of riot and in a drunken delirium from the hot spirit drawn out of the alembic of hell, which in France is now so furiously boiling, we should uncover our nakedness, by¹⁰⁶⁰ throwing off that Christian religion which has hitherto been our boast and comfort, and one great source of civilization amongst us, and among many other nations, we are apprehensive (being well aware that the mind will not endure a void) that some uncouth, per-¹⁰⁶⁵ nicious, and degrading superstition might take the place of it.

For that reason, before we take from our establishment the natural, human means of estimation, and give it up to contempt, as you have done, and in doing¹⁰⁷⁰ it have incurred the penalties you well deserve to suffer, we desire that some other may be presented to us in the place of it. We shall then form our judgment.

On these ideas, instead of quarrelling with establishments, as some do, who have made a philosophy and a¹⁰⁷⁵ religion of their hostility to such institutions, we cleave closely to them. We are resolved to keep an established church, an established monarchy, an established aristocracy, an established democracy, each in the degree it exists, and in no greater. I shall show you¹⁰⁸⁰ presently how much of each of these we possess.

It has been the misfortune (not, as these gentlemen think it, the glory) of this age, that everything is to be discussed, as if the constitution of our country were to

be always a subject rather of altercation, than enjoy-1085
ment. For this reason, as well as for the satisfaction
of those among you (if any such you have among you)
who may wish to profit of examples, I venture to
trouble you with a few thoughts upon each of these es-
tablishments. I do not think they were unwise in1090
ancient Rome, who, when they wished to new-model
their laws, set commissioners to examine the best con-
stituted republics within their reach.

First, I beg leave to speak of our church establish-
ment, which is the first of our prejudices, not a preju-1095
dice destitute of reason, but involving in it profound
and extensive wisdom. I speak of it first. It is first,
and last, and midst in our minds. For, taking ground
on that religious system, of which we are now in pos-
session, we continue to act on the early received and1100
uniformly continued sense of mankind. That sense
not only, like a wise architect, hath built up the august
fabric of states, but like a provident proprietor, to
preserve the structure from profanation and ruin, as a
sacred temple purged from all the impurities of fraud,1105
and violence, and injustice, and tyranny, hath solemnly
and for ever consecrated the commonwealth, and all
that officiate in it. This consecration is made, that all
who administer in the government of men, in which
they stand in the person of God himself, should have1110
high and worthy notions of their function and distinc-
tion ; that their hope should be full of immortality ;
that they should not look to the paltry pelf of the
moment, nor to the temporary and transient praise of
the vulgar, but to a solid, permanent existence, in the1115
permanent part of their nature, and to a permanent
fame and glory, in the example they leave as a rich
inheritance to the world.

Such sublime principles ought to be infused into per-
sons of exalted situations ; and religious establishments1120
provided, that may continually revive and enforce them.

Every sort of moral, every sort of civil, every sort of politic institution, aiding the rational and natural ties that connect the human understanding and affections to the divine, are not more than necessary, in order to build up that wonderful structure, Man ; whose prerogative it is, to be in a great degree a creature of his own making; and who when made as he ought to be made, is destined to hold no trivial place in the creation. But whenever man is put over men, as the better nature ought ever to preside, in that case more particularly, he should as nearly as possible be approximated to his perfection.

The consecration of the state, by a state religious establishment, is necessary also to operate with a wholesome awe upon free citizens ; because, in order to secure their freedom, they must enjoy some determinate portion of power. To them therefore a religion connected with the state, and with their duty towards it, becomes even more necessary than in such societies, where the people, by the terms of their subjection, are confined to private sentiments, and the management of their own family concerns. All persons possessing any portion of power ought to be strongly and awfully impressed with an idea that they act in trust : and that they are to account for their conduct in that trust to the one great Master, Author, and Founder of society.

This principle ought even to be more strongly impressed upon the minds of those who compose the collective sovereignty, than upon those of single princes. Without instruments, these princes can do nothing. Whoever uses instruments, in finding helps, finds also impediments. Their power is therefore by no means complete; nor are they safe in extreme abuse. Such persons, however elevated by flattery, arrogance, and self-opinion, must be sensible, that, whether covered or not by positive law, in some way or other they are accountable even here for the abuse of their trust. If they are not cut off by a rebellion of their people, they may be strangled by the very

janissaries kept for their security against all other rebellion. Thus we have seen the king of France sold by his soldiers for an increase of pay. But where popular authority is absolute and unrestrained, the people have an infinitely greater, because a far better founded, confidence in their own power. They are themselves, in a great measure, their own instruments. They are nearer to their objects. Besides, they are less under responsibility to one of the greatest controlling powers on earth, the sense of fame and estimation. The share of infamy, that is likely to fall to the lot of each individual in public acts, is small indeed ; the operation of opinion being the inverse ratio to the number of those who abuse power. Their own approbation of their own acts has to them the appearance of a public judgment in their favour. A perfect democracy is therefore the most shameless thing in the world. As it is the most shameless, it is also the most fearless. No man apprehends in his person that he can be made subject to punishment. Certainly the people at large never ought : for as all punishments are for example towards the conservation of the people at large, the people at large can never become the subject of punishment by any human hand.¹ It is therefore of infinite importance that they should not be suffered to imagine that their will, any more than that of kings, is the standard of right and wrong. They ought to be persuaded that they are full as little entitled, and far less qualified, with safety to themselves, to use any arbitrary power whatsoever ; that therefore they are not, under a false show of liberty, but in truth, to exercise an unnatural, inverted domination, tyrannically to exact, from those who officiate in the state, not an entire devotion to their interest, which is their right, but an abject submission to their occasional will ; extinguishing thereby, in all those who serve them, all moral principle, all sense of dignity, all use of judgment

¹ Quicquid multis peccatur inultum.

and all consistency of character ; whilst by the very same process they give themselves up a proper, a suitable, but a most contemptible prey to the servile ambition of popular sycophants, or courtly flatterers.

When the people have emptied themselves of all the1200 lust of selfish will, which without religion it is utterly impossible they ever should, when they are conscious that they exercise, and exercise perhaps in a higher link of the order of delegation, the power, which to be legitimate must be according to that eternal, immutable law,1205 in which will and reason are the same, they will be more careful how they place power in base and incapable hands. In their nomination to office, they will not appoint to the exercise of authority, as to a pitiful job, but as to a holy function ; not according to their1210 sordid, selfish interest, nor to their wanton caprice, nor to their arbitrary will ; but they will confer that power (which any man may well tremble to give or to receive) on those only, in whom they may discern that predominant proportion of active *virtuë* and wisdom,1215 taken together and fitted to the charge, such, as in the great and inevitable mixed mass of human imperfections and infirmities, is to be found.

When they are habitually convinced that no evil can be acceptable, either in the act or the permission, to him1220 whose essence is good, they will be better able to extirpate out of the minds of all magistrates, civil, ecclesiastical, or military, anything that bears the least resemblance to a proud and lawless domination.

But one of the first and most leading principles on1225 which the commonwealth and the laws are consecrated, is lest the temporary possessors and life-renters in it, unmindful of what they have received from their ancestors, or of what is due to their posterity, should act as if they were the entire masters ; that they should1230 not think it among their rights to cut off the entail, or commit waste on the inheritance, by destroying at their

pleasure the whole original fabric of their society ;
 hazarding to leave to those who come after them a ruin
 instead of an habitation—and teaching these successors1235
 as little to respect their contrivances, as they had them-
 selves respected the institutions of their forefathers.
 By this unprincipled facility of changing the state as
 often, and as much, and in as many ways, as there are
 floating fancies or fashions, the whole chain and con-1240
 tinuity of the commonwealth would be broken. No
 one generation could link with the other. Men would
 become little better than the flies of a summer.

And first of all, the science of jurisprudence, the pride
 of the human intellect, which, with all its defects, re-1245
 dundancies, and errors, is the collected reason of ages,
 combining the principles of original justice with the
 infinite variety of human concerns, as a heap of old ex-
 ploded errors, would be no longer studied. Personal
 self-sufficiency and arrogance (the certain attendants1250
 upon all those who have never experienced a wisdom
 greater than their own) would usurp the tribunal. Of
 course no certain laws, establishing invariable grounds
 of hope and fear, would keep the actions of men in a
 certain course, or direct them to a certain end. Noth-1255
 ing stable in the modes of holding property, or exercis-
 ing function, could form a solid ground on which any
 parent could speculate in the education of his offspring,
 or in a choice for their future establishment in the world.
 No principles would be early worked into the habits.1260
 As soon as the most able instructor had completed his
 laborious course of institution, instead of sending forth
 his pupil, accomplished in a virtuous discipline, fitted
 to procure him attention and respect, in his place in
 society, he would find everything altered ; and that he1265
 had turned out a poor creature to the contempt and
 derision of the world, ignorant of the true grounds of
 estimation. Who would insure a tender and delicate
 sense of honour to beat almost with the first pulses of

the heart, when no man could know what would be the1270
 test of honour in a nation, continually varying the
 standard of its coin ? No part of life would retain its
 acquisitions. Barbarism with regard to science and
 literature, unskilfulness with regard to arts and manu-1275
 factures, would infallibly succeed to the want of a
 steady education and settled principle ; and thus the
 commonwealth itself would, in a few generations,
 crumble away, be disconnected into the dust and pow-
 der of individuality, and at length dispersed to all the
 winds of heaven. 1280

To avoid therefore the evils of inconstancy and ver-
 satility, ten thousand times worse than those of ob-
 stinacy and the blindest prejudice, we have consecrat-
 ed the state, that no man should approach to look into
 its defects or corruptions but with due caution ; that1285
 he should never dream of beginning its reformation by
 its subversion ; that he should approach to the faults of
 the state as to the wounds of a father, with pious awe
 and trembling solicitude. By this wise prejudice we
 are taught to look with horror on those children of1290
 their country who are prompt rashly to hack that aged
 parent in pieces, and put him into the kettle of magi-
 cians, in hopes that by their poisonous weeds, and
 wild incantations, they may regenerate the paternal
 constitution, and renovate their father's life. 1295

Society is indeed a contract. Subordinate contracts
 for objects of mere occasional interest, may be dissolved
 at pleasure --but the state ought not to be considered
 as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a
 trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some1300
 other such low concern, to be taken up for a little tem-
 porary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the
 parties. It is to be looked on with other reverence ;
 because it is not a partnership in things subservient
 only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and1305
 perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science ; a

partnership in all art ; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but1310 between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born. Each contract of each particular state is but a clause in the great primæval contract of eternal society, linking the lower with the higher natures, connecting the visible and invisible1315 world, according to a fixed compact sanctioned by the inviolable oath which holds all physical and all moral natures, each in their appointed place. This law is not subject to the will of those, who by an obligation above them, and infinitely superior, are bound to submit their1320 will to that law. The municipal corporations of that universal kingdom are not morally at liberty at their pleasure, and on their speculations of a contingent improvement, wholly to separate and tear asunder the bands of their subordinate community, and to dissolve it1325 into an unsocial, uncivil, unconnected chaos of elementary principles. It is the first and supreme necessity only, a necessity that is not chosen, but chooses, a necessity paramount to deliberation, that admits no discussion, and demands no evidence, which alone can justify a resort to an1330 archy. This necessity is no exception to the rule ; because this necessity itself is a part too of that moral and physical disposition of things, to which man must be obedient by consent or force : but if that which is only submission to necessity should be made the object of1335 choice, the law is broken, nature is disobeyed, and the rebellious are outlawed, cast forth, and exiled, from this world of reason, and order, and peace, and virtue, and fruitful penitence, into the antagonist world of madness, discord, vice, confusion and unavailing sorrow.1340

These, my dear Sir, are, were, and, I think, long will be, the sentiments of not the least learned and reflecting part of this kingdom. They, who are included in

this description, form their opinions on such grounds as such persons ought to form them. The less enquiring receive them from an authority, which those whom Providence dooms to live on trust need not be ashamed to rely on. These two sorts of men move in the same direction, though in a different place. They both move with the order of the universe. They all know or feel this great ancient truth : “*Quod illi principi et præpotenti Deo qui omnem hunc mundum regit, nihil eorum quæ quidem sunt in terris acceptius quam concilia et cœtus hominum jure sociati quæ civitates appellantur.*” They take this tenet of the head and heart, not from the great name which it immediately bears, nor from the greater from whence it is derived ; but from that which alone can give true weight and sanction to any learned opinion, the common nature and common relation of men. Persuaded that all things ought to be done with reference, and referring all to the point of reference to which all should be directed, they think themselves bound, not only as individuals in the sanctuary of the heart, or as congregated in that personal capacity, to renew the memory of their high origin and cast ; but also in their corporate character to perform their national homage to the institutor, and author, and protector of civil society ; without which civil society man could not by any possibility arrive at the perfection of which his nature is capable, nor even make a remote and faint approach to it. They conceive that He who gave our nature to be perfected by our virtue, willed also the necessary means of its perfection.—He willed therefore the state—He willed its connexion with the source and original archetype of all perfection. They who are convinced of this his will, which is the law of laws, and the sovereign of sovereigns, cannot think it reprehensible that this our corporate fealty and homage, that this our recognition of a seignior paramount, I had almost said this oblation of the

state itself, as a worthy offering on the high altar of universal praise, should be performed as all public, solemn acts are performed, in buildings, in music, in decoration, in speech, in the dignity of persons, according to the customs of mankind, taught by their nature ; this is, with1385 modest splendour and unassuming state, with mild majesty and sober pomp. For those purposes they think some part of the wealth of the country is as usefully employed as it can be in fomenting the luxury of individuals. It is the public ornament. It is the public1390 consolation. It nourishes the public hope. The poorest man finds his own importance and dignity in it, whilst the wealth and pride of individuals at every moment make the man of humble rank and fortune sensible of his inferiority, and degrades and vilitates his condition.1395 It is for the man in humble life, and to raise his nature, and to put him in mind of a state in which the privileges of opulence will cease, when he will be equal by nature, and may be more than equal by virtue, that this portion of the general wealth of his country is employed1400 and sanctified.

I assure you I do not aim at singularity. I give you opinions which have been accepted amongst us, from very early times to this moment, with a continued and general approbation, and which indeed are so worked1405 into my mind, that I am unable to distinguish what I have learned from others from the results of my own meditation.

It is on some such principles that the majority of the people of England, far from thinking a religious1410 national establishment unlawful, hardly think it lawful to be without one. In France you are wholly mistaken if you do not believe us above all other things attached to it, and beyond all other nations ; and when this people has acted unwisely and unjustifiably in its1415 favour (as in some instances they have done most certainly,) in their very errors you will at least discover their zeal.

This principle runs through the whole system of their polity. They do not consider their church establishment1420 as convenient, but as essential to their state ; not as a thing heterogeneous and separable ; something added for accommodation ; what they may either keep or lay aside, according to their temporary ideas of convenience. They consider it as the foundation of their whole con-1425 stitution, with which, and with every part of which, it holds an indissoluble union. Church and state are ideas inseparable in their minds, and scarcely is the one ever mentioned without mentioning the other.

Our education is so formed as to confirm and fix1430 this impression. Our education is in a manner wholly in the hands of ecclesiastics, and in all stages from infancy to manhood. Even when our youth, leaving schools and universities, enter that most important period of life which begins to link experience and study1435 together, and when with that view they visit other countries, instead of old domestics whom we have seen as governors to principal men from other parts, three-fourths of those who go abroad with our young nobility and gentlemen are ecclesiastics : not as austere mast-1440 ers, nor as mere followers ; but as friends and companions of a graver character, and not seldom persons as well born as themselves. With them, as relations, they most constantly keep up a close connexion through life. By this connexion we conceive that we attach1445 our gentlemen to the church ; and we liberalize the church by an intercourse with the leading characters of the country.

So tenacious are we of the old ecclesiastical modes and fashions of institution, that very little alteration1450 has been made in them since the fourteenth or fifteenth century : adhering in this particular, as in all things else, to our old settled maxim, never entirely nor at once to depart from antiquity. We found these old institutions, on the whole, favourable to morality and1455

discipline ; and we thought they were susceptible of amendment, without altering the ground. We thought that they were capable of receiving and meliorating, and above all of preserving, the accessions of science and literature, as the order of Providence should successively produce them. And after all, with this Gothic and monkish education (for such it is in the groundwork) we may put in our claim to as ample and as early a share in all the improvements in science, in arts and in literature, which have illuminated and adorned the modern world, as any other nation in Europe : we think one main cause of this improvement was our not despising the patrimony of knowledge which was left us by our forefathers.

It is from our attachment to a church establishment, that the English nation did not think it wise to entrust that great, fundamental interest of the whole to what they trust no part of their civil or military public service, that is, to the unsteady and precarious contribution of individuals. They go further. They certainly never have suffered, and never will suffer, the fixed estate of the church to be converted into a pension, to depend on the treasury, and to be delayed, withheld, or perhaps to be extinguished, by fiscal difficulties : which difficulties may sometimes be pretended for political purposes, and are in fact often brought on by the extravagance, negligence, and rapacity of politicians. The people of England think that they have constitutional motives, as well as religious, against any project of turning their independent clergy into ecclesiastical pensioners of state. They tremble for their liberty, from the influence of a clergy dependent on the crown ; they tremble for the public tranquillity from the disorders of a factious clergy, if it were made to depend upon any other than the crown. They therefore made their church, like their king and their nobility, independent.

From the united considerations of religion and constitutional policy, from their opinion of a duty to make sure provision for the consolation of the feeble and the1495 instruction of the ignorant, they have incorporated and identified the estate of the church with the mass of *private property*, of which the state is not the proprietor, either for use or dominion, but the guardian only and the regulator. They have ordained that the provision1500 of this establishment might be as stable as the earth on which it stands, and should not fluctuate with the Euripus of funds and actions.

The men of England, the men, I mean, of light and leading in England, whose wisdom (if they have any)1505 is open and direct, would be ashamed, as of a silly, deceitful trick, to profess any religion in name, which, by their proceedings, they appeared to condemn. If by their conduct (the only language that rarely lies) they seemed to regard the great ruling principle of the moral and1510 the natural world, as a mere invention to keep the vulgar in obedience, they apprehend that by such a conduct they would defeat the politic purpose they have in view. They would find it difficult to make others believe in a system to which they manifestly give no1515 credit themselves. The Christian statesmen of this land would indeed first provide for the *multitude*; because it is the *multitude*; and is therefore, as such, the first object in the ecclesiastical institution, and in all institutions. They have been taught, that the circum-1520 stances of the gospel's being preached to the poor, was one of the great tests of its true mission. They think, therefore, that those do not believe it who do not take care it should be preached to the poor. But as they know that charity is not confined to any one descrip-1525 tion, but ought to apply itself to all men who have wants they are not deprived of a due and anxious sensation of pity to the distresses of the miserable great. They are not repelled through a fastidious delicacy, at the

stench of their arrogance and presumption, from a
 medicinal attention to their mental blotches and run-
 ning sores. They are sensible, that religious instruc-
 tion is of more consequence to them than to any others ;
 from the greatness of the temptation to which they
 are exposed ; from the important consequences that
 attend their faults ; from the contagion of their ill ex-
 ample : from the necessity of bowing down the stub-
 born neck of their pride and ambition to the yoke of
 moderation and virtue ; from a consideration of the
 fat stupidity and gross ignorance concerning what im-
 ports men most to know, which prevails at courts, and
 at the head of armies, and in senates, as much as at the
 loom and in the field.

The English people are satisfied, that to the great the
 consolations of religion are as necessary as its instruc-
 tions. They too are among the unhappy. They feel
 personal pain, and domestic sorrow. In these they
 have no privilege, but are subject to pay their full con-
 tingent to the contributions levied on mortality. They
 want this sovereign balm under their gnawing cares
 and anxieties, which, being less conversant about the
 limited wants of animal life, range without limit, and
 are diversified by infinite combinations, in the wild and
 unbounded regions of imagination. Some charitable
 dole is wanting to these, our often very unhappy
 brethren, to fill the gloomy void that reigns in minds
 which have nothing on earth to hope or fear ; something
 to relieve in the killing langour and over-laboured las-
 situde of those who have nothing to do ; something to
 excite an appetite to existence in the palled satiety
 which attends on all pleasures which may be bought,
 where nature is not left to her own process, where even
 desire is anticipated, and therefore fruition defeated by
 meditated schemes and contrivances of delight ; and no
 interval, no obstacle, is interposed between the wish and
 the accomplishment.

The people of England know how little influence the teachers of religion are likely to have with the wealthy and powerful of long standing, and how much less with the newly fortunate, if they appear in a manner1570 no way assorted to those with whom they must associate, and over whom they must even exercise, in some cases, something like an authority. What must they think of that body of teachers, if they see it in no part above the establishment of their domestic servants? If1575 the poverty were voluntary, there might be some difference. Strong instances of self-denial operate powerfully on our minds; and a man who has no wants has obtained great freedom, and firmness, and even dignity. But as the mass of any description of men are but men,1580 and their poverty cannot be voluntary, that disrespect, which attends upon all lay poverty, will not depart from the ecclesiastical. Our provident constitution has therefore taken care that those who are to instruct presumptuous ignorance, those who are to be censors over1585 insolent vice, should neither incur their contempt, nor live upon their alms; nor will it tempt the rich to a neglect of the true medicine of their minds. For these reasons, whilst we provide first for the poor, and with a parental solicitude, we have not relegated religion (like1590 something we were ashamed to show) to obscure municipalities, or rustic villages. No! we will have her to exalt her mitred front in courts and parliaments. We will have her mixed through the whole mass of life, and blended with all the classes of society. The people of1595 England will show to the haughty potentates of the world and to their talking sophisters, that a free, a generous, an informed nation honours the high magistrates of its church; that it will not suffer the insolence of wealth and titles, or any other species of proud pretension, to1600 look down with scorn upon what they look up to with reverence; nor presume to trample on that acquired personal nobility, which they intend always to be, and

which often is, the fruit, not the reward, (for what can be the reward !) of learning, piety, and virtue. They1605 can see, without pain or grudging, an archbishop precede a duke. They can see a bishop of Durham, or a bishop of Winchester, in possession of ten thousand pounds a year ; and cannot conceive why it is in worse hands than estates to the like amount in the hands of this earl,1610 or that squire ; although it may be true, that so many dogs and horses are not kept by the former, and fed with the victuals which ought to nourish the children of the people. It is true, the whole church revenue is not always employed, and to every shilling, in charity ; nor1615 perhaps ought it ; but something is generally so employed. It is better to cherish virtue and humanity, by leaving much to free will, even with some loss to the object, than to attempt to make men mere machines and instruments of a political benevolence. The world1620 on the whole will gain by a liberty, without which virtue cannot exist.

When once the commonwealth has established the estates of the church as property, it can, consistently, hear nothing of the more or the less. Too much and1625 too little are treason against property. What evil can arise from the quantity in any hand, whilst the supreme authority has the full, sovereign superintendence over this, as over all property, to prevent every species of abuse ; and, whenever it notably deviates, to give to it a1630 direction agreeable to the purposes of its institution.

In England most of us conceive that it is envy and malignity towards those who are often the beginners of their own fortune, and not a love of the self-denial and mortification of the ancient church, that makes some1635 look askance at the distinctions, and honours, and revenues, which, taken from no person, are set apart for virtue. The ears of the people of England are distinguishing. They hear these men speak broad. Their tongue betrays them. Their language is in the *patois* of1640

fraud ; in the cant and gibberish of hypocrisy. The people of England must think so, when these praters affect to carry back the clergy to that primitive, evangelic poverty, which in the spirit, ought always to exist in them, (and in us too, however we may like it,) but in the thing must be varied, when the relation of that body to the state is altered ; when manners, when modes of life, when indeed the whole order of human affairs, has undergone a total revolution. We shall believe those reformers then to be honest enthusiasts, not, as now we think them, cheats and deceivers, when we see them throwing their own goods into common, and submitting their own persons to the austere discipline of the early church.







PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

THE REFLECTIONS.

Origin of the Reflections. The members of an association which called itself the Revolution Society and which was composed chiefly of Dissenters, met as was their custom, on the 4th of November, the anniversary of the landing of the Prince of Orange, to hear a sermon in commemoration of the glorious day. Dr. Price was the preacher, and both in the morning sermon and in the festivities of the afternoon, the Revolutionists in France were loudly extolled. These harmless proceedings aroused Burke's anger and scorn. He set to work upon the denunciation of Price's doctrines. His design grew as he went on with the undertaking. Every piece of additional news that came across the Channel supplied new material to his contempt and his alarm. When it was known that he was writing a pamphlet, the literary world was stirred with the liveliest expectation. The "great rhetorical fabric arose." With indefatigable industry he revised, erased, wrote and rewrote for exactly a year, until in November of 1790 he gave to an anxious public his masterpiece. It was addressed to M. Dupont, "a very young gentleman at Paris," who afterwards translated the work into French.

Epitome. In the preceding portion of the Reflections Burke, after referring to the sermon of Dr. Price shows that it misrepresents the English Constitution. He disclaims the right "to choose our own governors," "to cashier them for misconduct," or "to form a government for ourselves." He compares the

proceedings of the English Revolutionists in 1688 with those of the French Revolutionists in 1789. The National Assembly is described; the representatives of the Tiers État; the clergy; the turbulent nobles. Jacobinical fallacies regarding political power, property, and liberty are discussed and the true Rights of man explained. The illiberality and inhumanity of the sermon are pointed out and Price is compared with Peters, the preacher who "conducted the triumph" at the trial of Charles I.

In the selection given here the treatment of the King and Royal Family of France is contrasted with the spirit of old European manners and opinions, which being natural and politic, still influences Englishmen. Louis is regarded as no tyrant and the author thinks the honour of England is concerned for the repudiation of Dr. Price's doctrines and sentiments. He proceeds to exhibit the true picture of the English political system which is based on (1) the Church, (2) the Crown, (3) the Nobility, (4) the People. Religion is grounded in nature, and most necessary where there is most liberty, aiding to enforce the obligation which ought to subsist between one generation and another. The Church is valuable as a cementing and pervading principle, controlling education and equally necessary to rich and to poor. The rights of property apply to the Estates of the Church, and are grossly outraged by the confiscation of Church property in France.

In the concluding part of the Reflections Burke shows that the efforts of the different classes are to destroy the Church; that the abuses of the monarchical government in France are not incurable; that the spirit of the late government was sound, the nobility friends of liberality, and the clergy deserving of respect. He then criticises the policy of the National Assembly, showing their ignorance of statesmanship and the evils of their legislature, executive power, judicature, army and financial system.





NOTES ON THE REFLECTIONS.

1. **Preacher.** Dr. Price, the Unitarian minister.
2. **dimittis.** "Now dismiss." See *Luke*, II., 29.
7. **Leading in triumph.** The language of Price and others.
10. **Transports.** Ecstasy.
14. **American Savages.** Probably a reminiscence of the author's reading.
15. **Onondaga.** Then a station of Jesuit missionaries.
18. **Women.** In his *Sett. in America* the author refers to the ferocity of the women.
25. **National Assembly.** The States-general convoked by Louis XVI. consisted of two privileged orders, clergy and nobility and of the tiers-état or commons. As the privileged orders refused to deliberate with the third estate the latter assumed the title of *Assemblée Nationale*. The court was compelled to make the nobles and clergy join the Assembly.
32. **Their situation.** Depending on the will of the mob.
34. **Vitiated mind.** The English sympathisers were not like the Assembly obliged to act from necessity.
38. **Whose constitution.** "The municipal government of Paris, which had passed out of the hands of the 300 electors, was at this time shared by 60 departments. Each department was a caricature of a Greek democratic state, was considered by its inhabitants as a sovereign power, and passed resolutions, which had the force of laws within its limits. This division into 60 departments was first introduced to facilitate the election of the States-general; but the easy means which it afforded of summoning the people of each district upon short notice, and of communicating a show of regularity and unanimity to the proceedings, made it too useful a system to be discarded. Much of that appearance of order and

government which characterises the first year of the Revolution is due rather to this device, than to that self-restraint which made 'anarchy tolerable' in Massachusetts."—*Payne*.

39. **Emanated, &c.** They were the result of temporary arrangements. Necker, by a grave error recognized the 300 electors as a legal body. Their functions properly extended only to the election of representatives but they were subsequently entrusted with power by the people because they were the only body in whom the public could confide.

52. **It is notorious.** The clubs governed in the departments of Paris, and through them in the Assembly.

57. **Monstrous medley.** Germans, Swiss, Italians, Spaniards and English. The nobles and clergy took a lead there.

60. **Catiline.** Lucius Sergius Catiline who plotted to assassinate Cicero and overthrow the Roman government.

Cethegus. Another of the conspirators.

63. **Distortion.** Perversion.

Academies. The French *Conciliabules*.

73. **Confiscation.** *L. con* and *fiscus*, a basket, the public treasury; hence the act of adjudging to be forfeited to the state.

75. **Embracing, &c.** "Burke refers to the circumstances attending the condemnation for a bank-note forgery, of the brothers Agasse, which occurred in the middle of January, 1790. Dr. Guillotin had some time previously proposed to the Assembly to inflict the punishment of death in a painless manner, and to relieve the relations of the criminal from the feudal taint of felony. The Abbé Pépin, on this occasion, procured the enactment of the last of these changes; and while the criminals lay under sentence of hanging, their brother and cousin, with the view of marking this triumph of liberty, were promoted to be lieutenants in the Grenadier Company of the Battalion of National Guards for the district of St. Honoré, on which occasion, in defiance of public decency and natural feeling, they were publicly feasted and complimented."—*Payne*.

82. **Comedians.** *Gr. kome*, a village and *ode* a song.

86. **Explode.** *L. explodo*, to reject or hoot off.

89. **Petulance.** Impudence.

90. **Gallery, &c.** In allusion to the House of Commons.

93. **Nec color, &c.** Neither any complexion of government nor any aspect of the senate.

94. **Power given, &c.** See *Revelations*, xiii., 7.

101. **Burlesque.** *L. burleschus*.

102. **Institute.** Institution.

113. **The beau jour.** The language is that of M. Bailly.

115. **That the vessel.** The words of Mirabeau.

121. **Slaughter of innocent gentlemen.** Foulon and Berthier were murdered by the *lanterne* "with every circumstance of refined insult and cruelty.

122. **The blood spilled.** The words of Barnave when this horrid scene was described and Mirabeau told him "it was a time to think rather than to feel."

132. **Felicitation, &c.** alluding to the address presented to the king and queen on the 3rd of January by a deputation of the Assembly.

Notice the *Sarcasm*.

146. **Frippery.** Fr. *friper*, to wear and hence old clothes.

157. **Ordinary.** Chaplain.

Newgate. The noted prison. Notice the *hyperbole* and *sarcasm*.

165. **Leze nation.** The offence of treason against the nation received from the Assembly this new name (L. *læsa majestas*.)

168. **Anodyne.** A medicine that allays pain. Notice the metaphors.

173. **Balm of hurt minds.** Cf. *Macbeth*, II., 2.

184. **History.** Personified.

190. **Sentinel.** M. de Miomandre.

194. **Cut down.** He recovered.

197. **Bayonets.** Not derived from Bayonne but from La Bayonette where a Basque regiment early in the 17th century, running short of powder, stuck their knives in their muskets.

Poniard. Fr. *poignard*, L. *pungo*. The statement here made has been denied.

From whence. *Pleonasm*.

209. **Two.** M. de Huttes and M. Varicourt, two of the guards.

216. **Heads.....led.** *Personal metaphor*.

220. **Contumelies.** Reproaches.

227. **Old palaces.** The Tuileries, where the king was at the time.

233. **Orgies.** Drunken revels. They were celebrated in Greece and Thrace in honour of Bacchus.

236. **A Saint.** Price.

241. **Venerable sage.** Simeon.

246. **Some sort.** Extreme republicans.

253. **Io Pœan.** A song of Apollo to avert some dreaded evil. It was so called from the words with which it began.

261. **Millenium.** See *Rev. ix., 2*

Fifth monarchy. The dream of a set of enthusiasts in the Puritan times.

270. **Regicide.** Burke saw the inevitable result.

271. **Sacrilegious.** The persons of the royal family were regarded sacred.

274. **Hardy pencil.** Burke thought the queen would be the first victim.

347. **Sarcasm.**

355. **Not a little.** *Litotes.*

365. **Derogates.** Detracts.

371. **Great lady.** Marie Antoinette.

372. **Triumph.** The "joyous entry" of the 6th of October.

380. **A sovereign.** Marie Theresa, Empress of Austria and mother of the Queen.

382. **Roman matron.** Such as Lucretia.

383. **In the last extremity.** Alluding to the queen's carrying poison about with her.

386. **It is now.** In a letter to Sir. P. Francis, Burke says the scene actually drew tears from his eyes.

387. **Dauphiness.** Marie Antoinette had been married to the grandson of Louis XV. while he was still the dauphin.

388. **This orb, &c.** In this famous passage we have *metaphor, simile, ecphonesis, vision, apostrophe, hyperbole, &c.*, brought into requisition.

394. **Elevation.....fall.** *Antithesis.*

396. **Titles.** As that of queen.

398. **Antidote.** The poison.

399. **Little did I dream.** *Anaphora.*

402. **Ten thousand.** *Metonymy.*

404. **Age of chivalry.** The lament for the decay of chivalry is an old one.

405. **Sophisters.** Sophists.

408. **Generous loyalty.** The idea of loyalty was to be effaced from the French mind.

Proud submission. *Modestie superbe.*

411. **Exalted freedom.** Bolingbroke, Gibbon and others considered that the spirit of freedom breathed throughout the feudal institutions.

415. **Felt a stain, &c.** "And if the conscience has not wholly lost its native tenderness, it will not only dread the infection of a wound, but also the aspersion of a blot."—*South.*

416. **Ennoble, &c.** Cf. Johnson's epitaph on Goldsmith "Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit."

420. **Chivalry.** The complement of feudalism. It had its origin about the 11th century. Under it the privileges, duties and manners of the knights were recognized.

435. **Fellows.** Equals.

441. **Illusions.** Distinguish from *delusions* and *allusions*.

444. **Assimilation.** Converting into a like substance.

449. **Wardrobe.** "Life is barren enough surely with all her trappings; let us therefore be cautious how we strip her."—*Johnson*. Payne considers the influence of Johnson on Burke may be traced here.

455. **Scheme.** That of the Revolutionists and political theorists. Notice the *climax*.

469. **Cold hearts, &c.** Cf. Pope, *Dunciad*. "A brain of feathers and a heart of lead."

476. **Vista, or visto.** A view as through an avenue.

473. **Mechanic.** Mechanical.

493. **Power.** Misdirected, he anticipates, after the destruction of polished manners.

507. **Kings, &c.** A very expressive paragraph.

512. **Port.** *Metonymy*.

523. **Nothing is more, &c.** To cherish Honour was the principal business of chivalry. While chivalry flourished Burke says, "No citizen of Europe could be altogether an exile in any part of it."

533. **Learning.** The clergy were almost the only learned persons during the middle ages.

536. **Happy.** *Euphonesis*.

539. **The instructor.** The Revolutionists followed "reason" so called.

543. **Swinish multitude.** Cf. Matthew, vii., 6. "The much resented expression 'swinish multitude' afterwards became a toast with the English Jacobins."—*Payne*.

548. **The gods, &c.** Burke shows that wealth, which some valued more than the preservation of "nobility" and "religion" depended upon the preservation of these.

575. **It is not clear, &c.** Hallam calls France "the fountain of chivalry." Probably Burke here alludes to the legendary chivalry of the Court of Arthur, of which Brittany had its share.

581. **When your fountain.** "This passage has not been verified. England and Germany are likely to transmit to future generations much that is worth preserving of the spirit of chivalry."

591. **A revolution in sentiments, &c.** Public opinion was indeed changing.

594. **Apologize.** A strong expression.

606. **Great drama.** That of life.

615. **Stage.** Burke was a great lover of the stage.

620. **Garrick.** David Garrick (1716—1779) the celebrated actor.
Siddons. The celebrated actress.

623. **School.** A *metaphor*.

631. **Machiavelian.** Like the pernicious political principles of Niccolo del Machiavelli, of Florence, as set forth in his work called *The Prince*. According to this book rulers may resort to any treachery or artifice to uphold their arbitrary power.

662. **Fear more dreadful, &c.** A striking prophecy of the horrors of the Reign of Terror.

679. **Remit his prerogatives, &c.** This statement is not correct. Such remissions had been wrested from the king by parliament.

685. **Provide force, &c.** Alluding to the arrest of magistrates.

694. **Complacent awe.** Referring probably to Frederick the great.

695. **Known to keep.** A French form for "know how to keep."

599. **Never elevate, &c.** Under weak kings nations have often obtained more liberty.

700. **Listed.** Enlisted.

701. **Any good.....any crime.** *Antithesis*.

718. **Nero.** A very wicked emperor of Rome.

Agrippina. Wife of the emperor Claudius and one of the most detestable of women.

Louis the Eleventh. A genuine tyrant and the founder of the absolute system completed by Louis XIV.

Charles the Ninth. Who authorized and took a personal part in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572.

719. **Charles the Twelfth.** Became king of Sweden 1697 and proved himself a most successful general in wars against the Russians, Danes, Prussians and Saxons.

720. **Patkul.** The Livonian patriot, surrendered to him under a treaty by Augustus of Poland, and judicially murdered in 1707.

721. **Monaldeschi.** "An Italian gentlemen who had been a favourite of the queen, but in revenge for neglect had composed a book in which her intrigues were unveiled. She had him dragged into her presence, and then and there assassinated, Oct. 10th, 1657. Leibnitz, to his disgrace, was among the apologists for this crime which took place at Fontainebleau."—*Payne*.

724. **French King.** The title of King of France was thought to savour of feudal usurpation and was changed to "King of the French."

751. Flower-de-luce. The royal badge. Burke here alludes to the scandalous stories of the Queen of France which those about the court brought over.

752. Lord George Gordon. "This mischievous maniac had been convicted June 6th 1787, amongst other things for a libel on the queen of France; but before the time fixed for coming up to receive sentence, he made off to the continent. He soon returned, and in August took up his residence in one of the dirtiest streets of Birmingham, where he became a proselyte to the religion, and assumed the dress and manners of the Jews. He was arrested there on the 7th of December on a warrant for contempt of court and committed to Newgate, where his freaks were for sometime a topic of public amusement, as may be seen from the contemporary newspapers."—*Payne*.

753. Proselyte. He assumed the name and style of the Right Hon. Israel Bar Abraham George Gordon, wore a long beard and refused to admit to his presence any Jew who appeared without one.

755. Raised a mob. The terrible "No-Popery riots" of June 6th 1780 set blazing six-and-thirty fires in various parts of London and "everything served to impress the mind with ideas of universal anarchy and approaching desolation."

763. Thalmud. The fundamental code of Jewish law.

771. Dr. Price has shown. In his *Treatise on Reversionary payments* and other works.

772. Thirty pieces. In allusion to Judas.

773. Gallican. Of France.

796. Forty years. Burke came to England in 1750.

808. Bustle and noise. Hurd, in a sermon states that; "A few fashionable men make a noise in the world; and this clamour, being echoed on all sides from the shallow circles of their admirers, misleads the unwary into an opinion that the irreligious spirit is universal and uncontrollable." Canning in a speech gives expression to a similar idea.

812. Grasshoppers, &c. Cf. Virgil *Georg.* iii., 327. and also the story of the foolish traveller who dismounted to kill the grasshoppers which disturbed his meditations.

827. I deprecate, &c. *Paraleipsis*.

829. A king of France. John who was taken at the battle of Poitiers, 1356.

830. You have read. In the Chronicle of Froissart.

831. Victor. The Black Prince.

838. Generosity and dignity. Excessive praise was given in Burke's time to the period of Edward III.

839. **Subtilized, &c** Rousseau is now supposed to influence France as Lycurgus did Sparta.

840. **Rousseau, &c.** The free-thinking, infidel spirit, so characteristic of the last century came from Italy with the period of the Renaissance.

842. **Atheists.** Over 50,000 are said to have been in Paris alone a century before the Revolution.

857. **Trussed.** Bound up.

859. **Blurred.** Blotted.

861. **Unsophisticated.** Uncorrupted.

Pedantry. Show of learning.

876. **Our old prejudices.** Well might some of Burke's Whig friends become amazed at such views.

886. **Men of speculation.** Like Addison, Johnson and other essayists.

900. **Continue the prejudice.** Chesterfield in one of his essays defends prejudices and regards them safer guides than reason.

926. **Inexpiable war.** Cf. Livy, iv., 35.

932. **Species of compact.** Plato sets up the same fictitious compact according to Bishop Horsely.

951. **Cabals.** Fr. *cabale*. The word has been popularized from the "Cabal Ministry."

962. **Refused.** In the reign of John.

974. **Part of our interest.** The politics had influenced various European governments.

976. **Panacea.** A universal cure. Panacea, the daughter of Esculapius, the god of medicine.

979. **Quarantine.** "The forty days that a ship suspected of being infected with some contagious disorder is obliged to lie off port."—*Brewer*.

981. **Philosophic.** Then signifying, in France, unbelief in Christianity.

993. **Collins, &c.** Payne says, "All that is worth knowing of these writers may be read in Mr. Pattison's essay on the *Tendencies of Religious Thought in England*, 1688—1750. The representative man of the sect was Tindal."

995. **Boingbrooke.** Henry St. John (1678—1751); a prominent Tory politician; his talents were brilliant and versatile and his style of writing polished; he was unscrupulous, dissipated, and a noted infidel.

998. **Few successors.** The allusion is to Hume.

999. **Capulets.** Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, iv., 1.

"Thou shalt be borne to that same ancient vault
Where all the kindred of the Capulets lie."

The Capulets were a noble house of Verona, the rival of that of Montague. Juliet is one of the former and Romeo of the latter.

1002. **Gregarious.** L. *grex*, a flock.

1011. **Reparations.** Amendments.

1015. **Native plainness.** For good illustrations of English character see Butler's *Hudibras*, Addison's *Sir Roger de Coverley* and Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*.

1017. **Those who, &c.** Robert Walpole, Lord Chatham and Lord Rockingham.

1027. **We shall never, &c.** In England Dissenting bodies sprang into existence as a result of the spirit of inquiry.

1033. **Unhallowed fire.** Cf. Numbers, xvi. The allusion is most likely to the sacred fire on the altar of Vesta at Rome.

1036. **Adulterated metaphysics.** The sentiments of the sceptics.

1048. **Greek, &c.** Burke speaks elsewhere of these "four grand divisions of Christianity." He was a strong friend of toleration.

. **Armenian.** So called from Armenia where Christianity was introduced in the second century. They attribute only one nature to Christ, hold that the spirit proceeds from the Father only, and adore saints.

1055. **Indifference, &c.** *Antithesis*.

1059. **Alembic.** A vessel formerly used by chemists for distilling.

1065. **Not endure a void.** The worship of *humanity* and the Sunday services of "Secular" societies prove the statement.

1091. **Ancient Rome.** Athens was visited by the Romans, in the time of Pericles and the Decemvirate which is here referred to established at home.

1144. **Act in trust.** A favourite view of Burke's regarding those placed in power.

1159. **Janissaries.** The name was first applied to a celebrated militia of the Ottoman empire raised by Orchan in 1526.

1162. **Absolute, &c.** The stock arguments against democracy.

1166. **Less under responsibility.** Is this true?

1171. **Inverse ratio.** Discuss this opinion.

1199. **Sycophants.** Gr. *sukophantes*, from *sukon* a fig. The term was probably first applied to those who informed against persons exporting figs and hence an informer, a parasite, a flatterer.

1206. **Will and reason the same.** A conclusion of the schoolmen.

1209. **Will not appoint, &c.** Notice the *antithesis*.

1227. **Life-renters.** Tenants for life.

1231. **Entail.** Fr. *en-tailler*. An *entail* is an estate cut from the power of a testator. It must go to the legal heirs.

1232. **Commit waste.** Permanent injury done on a landed estate, as pulling down houses, cutting timber &c.

1240. **Continuity.** Burke holds that the liberties of England form an "entailed inheritance."

1244. **Jurisprudence.** In Burke's time practical jurisprudence in England stood sadly in need of reform. In France matters were about as corrupt as they very well could be.

1284. **Approach to.** *Pleonasm.*

1292. **In pieces.** Alluding to the legend of the daughters of Pelias, King of Thessaly, who "by the counsel of Medea, chopped him in pieces, and set him a boiling with I know not what herbs in a cauldron, but could not revive him again."

1309. **Many generations.** The argument is used by Cicero.

1326. **Chaos.** Confusion.

1330. **Anarchy.** The absence of order.

1338. **World of reason, &c.** *Antithesis.*

1351. **Quod illi, &c.** Cicero, *de Rep.*, Lib., vi.

1355. **Tenet.** An article of faith.

1356. **Great name.** Scipio.

1357. **Greater name.** Cicero.

1366. **Cast.** Birth.

1375. **Archetype.** A model.

Corporate fealty. Allegiance as body.

1379. **Seignior.** Authority of a seignior (*L. senior*) or lord.

1380. **Paramount.** Over all.

1364. **Dignity of persons.** Ecclesiastical dignities.

1422. **Heterogeneous.** Dissimilar.

1430. **Our education.** Burke's arguments will appear weak to Canadians.

1440. **Austere.** Severe.

1458. **Meliorating.** Ameliorating.

1463. **As early.** Not farther back than Hooker and Bacon.

1474. **Precarious.** Canada and even Scotland and England are far from establishing this view.

1489. **Faction.** If dependent on party.

1498. **Private property, &c.** In his speech on the Petition against the Acts of Uniformity (1772) Burke maintained the contrary opinion.

1502. **Euripus.** The strait between Bœotia and Eubœa. Its tides—with the Mediterranean tideless—were a puzzle to the ancients.

1503. **Actions.** Fr. *actions*, shares in a joint stock.

1513. **Politie purpos.** Of keeping the vulgar in obedience

1521. **To the poor.** Cf. *Luke*, vii., 22, &c.

1531. **Medicinal.** Notice the *metaphorical* language in this passage.

1554. **Dole.** From *deal*; "dole" a lament, is from the L. *doleo*.

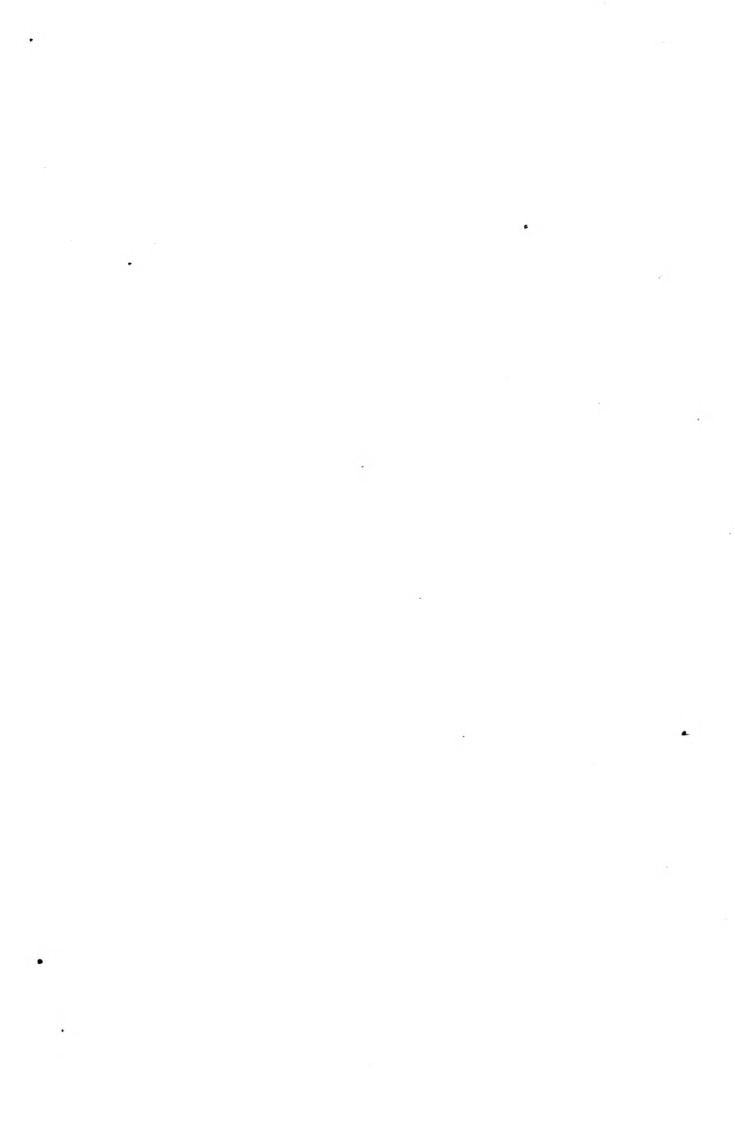
1586. **Incur their contempt.** Experience does not justify Burke's conclusions.

1593. **Mitred front.** "The episcopal *mitre* symbolises the cloven tongues of fire which descended on the apostles on the day of Pentecost."—*Brewer*.

1601. **Scorn—reverence.** *Antithesis*.

1640. **Patois.** Provincialism.





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